DUDLEY KNOX LIBRARY
NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
MONTEREY, CALIFORNIA 93943-5101

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
Monterey, California

THESIS

G26285

THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION: A STUDY IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF U.S. POLICY IN KOREA

by

Douglas Edward George

June 1988

Thesis Advisor: Claude A. Buss

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

T238928

CURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

a. REPORT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION
UNCLASSIFIED

1b RESTRICTIVE MARKINGS

a. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY

3 DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY OF REPORT
Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

b. DECLASSIFICATION / DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)

5 MONITORING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER(S)

a. NAME OF PERFORMING ORGANIZATION
Naval Postgraduate School

6b OFFICE SYMBOL (*If applicable*)
56

7a NAME OF MONITORING ORGANIZATION
Naval Postgraduate School

c. ADDRESS (*City, State, and ZIP Code*)
Monterey, California 93943-5000

7b. ADDRESS (*City, State, and ZIP Code*)
Monterey, California 93943-5000

3a. NAME OF FUNDING / SPONSORING ORGANIZATION

8b. OFFICE SYMBOL (*If applicable*)

9. PROCUREMENT INSTRUMENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

3c. ADDRESS (*City, State, and ZIP Code*)

10 SOURCE OF FUNDING NUMBERS

PROGRAM ELEMENT NO.	PROJECT NO.	TASK NO	WORK UNIT ACCESSION NO.

11. TITLE (*Include Security Classification*)
THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION: A STUDY IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF U.S. POLICY IN KOREA

12. PERSONAL AUTHOR(S) GEORGE, Douglas E.

13a. TYPE OF REPORT
Master's Thesis

13b TIME COVERED
FROM ________ TO ________

14. DATE OF REPORT (*Year, Month, Day*)
1988 June

15 PAGE COUNT
334

16. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTATION The views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Department of Defense or the U.S. Government.

17. COSATI CODES

FIELD	GROUP	SUB-GROUP

18. SUBJECT TERMS (*Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number*)
Frederick F. Low; RADM John Rodgers; 1871; Korea; U.S.-Korean relations; Oppert; Hermit Kingdom; U.S. policy in Korea; General Sherman; Seward; U.S. Asiatic Fleet; 1871 Marine amphibious landing in Korea

19. ABSTRACT (*Continue on reverse if necessary and identify by block number*)

This thesis reveals the origin and significance of the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 in the evolution of a conscious foreign policy of the United States in East Asia. It deals with the Low-Rodgers Expedition not as an isolated event, but as both an outcome and antecedent of other closely interrelated events in an unbroken time continuum. Concentrating on the fundamental regional issues of the times and the national character and interests of the U.S. and the Kingdom of Korea, this thesis: reveals, for the first time, the 1871 diary of U.S. Minister to China, Frederick F. Low, and the wealth of new historical data therein; provides deeper analysis of the contemporary events bearing on the Low-Rodgers Expedition and gives a deeper appreciation of the obstacles preventing its success; shows why misconceptions about the expedition and some peripheral events arose and have remained unchallenged; explains why Low's efforts to open Korea failed, yet still played a more important role in the development of U.S. policy in Korea and the opening of Korea to the Western world than has been recognized.

20 DISTRIBUTION / AVAILABILITY OF ABSTRACT
☒ UNCLASSIFIED/UNLIMITED ☐ SAME AS RPT ☐ DTIC USERS

21 ABSTRACT SECURITY CLASSIFICATION
UNCLASSIFIED

22a. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL
Dr. Claude A. Buss

22b TELEPHONE (*Include Area Code*)
(415) 327-7893

22c. OFFICE SYMBOL
56BX

DD FORM 1473, 84 MAR

83 APR edition may be used until exhausted
All other editions are obsolete

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE

✩ U.S. Government Printing Office: 1986—606-24.

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION:
A STUDY IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF U.S. POLICY IN KOREA

by

Douglas E. George
Captain, United States Air Force
B.A., University of Maryland, 1976

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS IN NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS

from the

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL
June 1988

ABSTRACT

This thesis reveals the origin and significance of the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 in the evolution of a conscious foreign policy of the United States in East Asia. Entitled "The Low-Rodgers Expedition: A Study in the Foundations of U.S. Policy in Korea," it deals with the Low-Rodgers Expedition not as an isolated event, but as both an outcome and antecedent of other closely interrelated events in an unbroken time continuum. Concentrating on the fundamental regional issues of the times and the national character and interests of the United States and the Kingdom of Korea, this thesis:

1. Reveals, for the first time, the original 1871 diary of U.S. Minister to China, Frederick Ferdinand Low, and the wealth of new historical data therein: his misgivings and motivations; his plans and failings; and his appreciation for the historical importance of the mission which today bears his name.

2. Provides deeper analysis of the contemporary events bearing on the Low-Rodgers Expedition and gives a deeper appreciation of the obstacles which worked against its success from the very moment of its inception.

3. Shows why misconceptions about the expedition and some peripheral events have remained unchallenged for over a century.

4. Explains why Low's efforts to open Korea before the 1882 Shufeldt mission failed, yet still played a more important role in the development of U.S. policy in Korea and the opening of Korea to the Western world than has been recognized.

85

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION: STORMY BEGINNINGS AND UNANSWERED QUESTIONS --- 1

II. SETTING THE STAGE: THE EAST ASIAN ENVIRONMENT -------------- 5

III. THE *GENERAL SHERMAN* INCIDENT ------------------------------- 19

- A. THE *GENERAL SHERMAN'S* VOYAGE TO KOREA ------------------ 22
- B. THE *GENERAL SHERMAN* IN KOREA --------------------------- 24
- C. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE *GENERAL SHERMAN* ----------------- 37

IV. THE POLICY IDEA MATURING ------------------------------------- 41

- A. THE AFTERMATH: WORRY AND RAGE -------------------------- 41
- B. THE SHUFELDT MISSION ----------------------------------- 47
- C. THE FEBIGER MISSION ------------------------------------ 56
- D. FREDERICK JENKINS AND THE OPPERT CONNECTION ------------ 57
- E. THE JENKINS-OPPERT LEGACY ------------------------------ 73
- F. GEORGE F. SEWARD AND HIS "VISION" ---------------------- 76

V. THE LOW-RODGERS MISSION --------------------------------------- 81

- A. KEY PERSONNEL --- 81
  - 1. HAMILTON FISH -------------------------------------- 81
  - 2. FREDERICK F. LOW ----------------------------------- 82
  - 3. ADMIRAL JOHN RODGERS ------------------------------- 85
- B. THE EXPEDITION'S PURPOSE AND PLANNING ------------------ 86
- C. THE VOYAGE TO KOREA ------------------------------------ 96

VI. THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION ARRIVES IN KOREA --------------- 106
  A. INITIAL UNOFFICIAL CONTACT ------------------------------ 107
  B. OFFICIAL CONTACT: MUTUAL MISUNDERSTANDING --------------- 114
  C. THE FIREFIGHT: MISUNDERSTANDING TURNS TO CONFLICT ------ 119
  D. DIPLOMACY SOURS --- 124
VII. THE BATTLE -- 141
  A. DAY ONE --- 141
  B. DAY TWO --- 149
VIII. AFTER THE BATTLE --- 157
  A. THE EFFECTS ON THE AMERICANS ---------------------------- 157
  B. THE EFFECTS ON THE KOREANS ------------------------------ 162
  C. GOING HOME WITH HONOR ----------------------------------- 162
IX. CONCLUSION -- 167
  A. THE *GENERAL SHERMAN*: SELF-ASSURED DESTRUCTION ---------- 169
  B. LOW-RODGERS: GOOD INTENTIONS GONE AWRY ------------------ 172
  C. THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION'S LEGACY --------------------- 177
APPENDIX A: THE *GENERAL SHERMAN* AND THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITTION TO KOREA TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS ----------- 180
APPENDIX B: THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION OF 1871 THE LANDING PARTY OF JUNE 10-11, 1871 ------------------ 185
APPENDIX C: THE DIARY OF FREDERICK FERDINAND LOW MAY 8 - JULY 10, 1871 ------------------------------------ 187
APPENDIX D: A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL DIARY OF FREDERICK FERDINAND LOW MAY 8 - JULY 10, 1871 ------- 249
LIST OF REFERENCES -- 313
BIBLIOGRAPHY -- 316
INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST ------------------------------------- 318

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND MAPS

PHOTOGRAPHS

Photograph 1. The *U.S.S. Colorado*, the flagship of the Low-Rodgers Expedition, at anchor off Kangwha Island, Korea, May 30 - July 3, 1871 --------------- 110

Photograph 2. The officers of the *U.S.S. Colorado* ---------------- 111

Photograph 3. The Korean junk which ferried Korean officials to the *U.S.S. Colorado* ------------------------------ 113

Photograph 4. An early Korean visitor to the *U.S.S. Colorado* with the objects of his fascination on board the American vessel -- glass bottles ------------------- 116

Photograph 5. Rear Admiral John Rodgers (second from the right) with his commanders and key officers planning the Americans' battle strategy for the confrontation June 10 - 11, 1871 --------------------------------- 137

Photograph 6. U.S. Minister Frederick Ferdinand Low (standing) dictating official correspondence to one of his aides and his Chinese interpreters ----------------- 140

Photograph 7. Korean soldiers taken as prisoners of war combat, June 11 - 12, 1871 ------------------------- 154

Photograph 8. A Korean official (in the hat) prepares to disembark the *U.S.S. Colorado* with the Korean prisoners the Americans released following the fighting of June 11 - 12, 1871 --------------------- 160

MAPS

Map 1. Kangwha Island, Korea, where the Low-Rodgers Expedition engaged Korean forts and forces June 10 - 11, 1871 -------- 142

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

All photographs appearing in this thesis are courtesy of the Department of Special Collections and University Archives, Stanford University Libraries.

I. INTRODUCTION: STORMY BEGINNINGS AND UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Today's relationship between Korea and the United States of America represents one of the unique alliances among nations. Geographically, historically and culturally, they are worlds apart. Yet few nations are as close. America's modern commitment to the Koreans, combining both the strategic and the moral, has been indispensable to South Korea's very survival. [Ref. 1] Just as important, the Koreans' response to the American alliance has been equally beneficial to the Americans. The South Koreans have built one of East Asia's most thriving and prosperous economies. They have been a loyal ally. But relations between Americans and Koreans have not always been so symbiotic.

In fact two unhappy events marked the early years of American-Korean relations when they began over a century ago. The first was the destruction of an American merchant ship, the *General Sherman*, in the Taedong River and the murder of its crew near Pyongyang in 1866. The second occurred in 1871 on Kanghwa Island, off modern day Inchon and near the mouth of the Han River. There Korean and American troops fought bloody encounters. Courage and commitment, misunderstanding and misfortune permeated both events. Yet neither episode gave any indication of the close relations that were to develop between the two countries.

Unfortunately, disparate accounts of both these early incidents abound, beclouding our understanding of these events and their significance. According to Encyclopedia Britannica, Korean soldiers and civilians took part in the *General Sherman* incident "in revenge for the crew's acts of plunder...." and that "In 1871 a United States flotilla came to retaliate for the *General Sherman* but was beaten back." [Ref. 2]

Another account said the *General Sherman* committed unprovoked attacks on the Korean people, and the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 was punishment [of the Koreans] for the crew's murder. [Ref. 3] Still another described the *General Sherman* as a "heavily armed schooner," without any mention of such key bits of information as its mission or why such a ship might visit Korea. [Ref. 4:p. 5]

One narrative pointed out the 1871 expedition was attacked by the Koreans first and withdrew only "after waiting in vain for the proper apologies" from the Koreans. [Ref. 5:p. 122] And a particularly bizarre report said the *General Sherman* went to Korea to plunder royal tombs and hold the remains for ransom. [Ref. 6:p. 230]

The historical debate over these events continues. In its canonization of the entire Kim family, the North Korean propaganda apparatus has capitalized on the *General Sherman* incident by incorporating it into the alleged revolutionary accomplishments of the Kim family. "Kim Eng-woo [Kim Il Sung's grandfather] is said to have been the leader of a group which, in 1866, sent the U.S. warship *General Sherman* to the bottom of the Taedong River." [Ref. 7] Such accounts do not provide an accurate understanding of what actually happened.

This thesis aims to shed light on such questions as: What previous circumstances and events, in time and place, may have influenced what transpired with the *General Sherman* and the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871? Why did the *General Sherman* go to Korea in the first place, and under what auspices? What actually motivated the Koreans to burn the *General Sherman* and kill her crew? Are present day North Korean allegations the *General Sherman* was a "warship" true? Was the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 really retaliation for the murders of the *General Sherman's* crew?

As for the Low-Rodgers mission, who made the decision to send the 1871 expedition to Korea? Who planned it? If it was a retaliatory mission for the loss of the *General Sherman*, why did it take five years for the Americans to respond? But if it was not intended to avenge the *General Sherman*, why did the Americans send such a heavily armed flotilla to what was then considered a "poor" country? What happened during the five year interlude between both events that may have impacted on the latter? What legacy did these incidents leave?

This thesis deals with the *General Sherman* and the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 not as isolated events, but rather as closely interrelated outcomes in an unbroken time continuum. It seeks to add new light to reasons why misunderstandings have arisen from the various interpretations of these events by examining the East Asian setting that made both events possible. It looks not only at the situation of the Americans and Koreans involved, but also the influencing factors throughout the entire region. It will consider versions of both the *General Sherman* and Low-Rodgers Expedition in detail, as well as the factors of influence. It analyzes historical literature of this period showing that some accounts are simply wrong and others contain blatant mistakes.

Might there be some plausible explanations for these events' historical inaccuracies heretofore not considered? What revelations can be found in the previously unknown diary of U.S. Minister to China, Frederick F. Low? What does his personal diary reveal that the "official record" too often leaves out?

On the basis of this and other new information, this thesis draws some credible conclusions about these premature incidents involved in the opening of Korea to the Western world, their implications at the time, and what lessons they may offer us now in the context of the continuing unfolding drama of relations between the United States and Korea.

II. SETTING THE STAGE: THE EAST ASIAN ENVIRONMENT

By the time the *General Sherman* sailed into Korean waters, Western experience in East Asia was already centuries old. The British, French, Germans, Spanish, Dutch, and Russians all boasted a long chronology of wars, treaties, territorial encroachments, and exploitive commerce in East Asia. Missionary efforts to convert the "heathen" were already well established, as was a profitable opium and ginseng trade. The cultural conflict (perhaps "damage" would be a better word) was already profound, recognized, and, to some extent, being dealt with by Japan and China. Hunted in China, Christian missionaries had already been banned from Japan and excluded from Korea. [Ref. 8:p. 398] Other foreigners were also unwelcome there, and it was not unusual for them to be jailed upon arrival. China, the traditional overlord of Korea, was in a state of rapid dynastic decline and internal disarray after being badly beaten by the Europeans in the uneven engagements of the Opium War (1839-1842). [Ref. 8:p. 454] Foreign encroachment and internal strife had gone beyond China's ability to control either.

Meanwhile, some Americans were profitably riding on the Europeans' coattails. They found East Asia, particularly China, most alluring and perfectly suited to American circumstances. For merchants and traders, it held exceptional promise for fat profits. For those more interested in saving souls, East Asia provided plenty of "heathens" to proselytize. Furthermore, America "benefited from the trading concessions exacted from the Chinese by the British in the Treaty of Nanking in 1842. [Ref.

8:p. 460] Two years later Caleb Cushing, the first American envoy to China, concluded the Treaty of Wanghsia. These and other treaties gave America numerous benefits at little or no cost, a sort of "beneficiary imperialism." [Ref. 9]

But America's Asian outreach did not end with China. In 1854, Commodore Matthew C. Perry and his "gunboat diplomacy" succeeded in opening Japan and introducing a new era. [Ref. 10] With steam, America could defy the winds. Suddenly the Far East was now the near west. With America's growing self-confidence in the region came increasing trade with and interests in both China and Japan. From there it was only natural for U.S. interests to turn toward Korea. Our primary interest in Korea, as in China and Japan, was expanded trade. However, America's experience with Korea prior to 1866 consisted only of shipwrecked sailors of the American sailing vessel *Surprise*,[1] who were treated kindly and returned safely to China after their vessel sank off the coast of Whang-ha Province. [Ref. 4:pp. 4-5]

Although managing to evade the early exploitation that befell China, for centuries Korea had been the target of Western interests. Europeans visited there as early as 1593, when the Spanish Jesuit, Gregorio de Cespedes came to minister to Japanese Christian warriors under the invading General Konshi. [Ref. 5:p. 109] Korea's aversion to outsiders was continually reinforced throughout history by unprovoked Chinese and Japanese pirate raids, as well as invasions from land and sea. This all prompted a policy of national seclusion that isolated the peninsula from the rest of the world more effectively than similar policies of China or Japan. [Ref. 11:p. 3]

---

[1] The *Surprise* was a schooner that sank off the eastern coast of Korea on June 24, 1866. Korean authorities saw to the needs of the crewmen, including food, housing, clothing, and medicine, for 24 days before providing them safe escort to a town on the frontier with China. There they were turned over to Chinese authorities and, with the help of a French missionary, eventually came under the care of American authorities. The captain and crew of the *Surprise* praised the Koreans for the courteous treatment provided them and noted that it was in stark contrast to their treatment at the hands of the Chinese.

Unlike today's divided peninsula, Korea at that time was a unified country. But internally the government of the Yi dynasty in its capital at Seoul (in theory an absolute monarchy) was experiencing severe problems.

> The repeated succession of minors to the throne and the domination of government by relatives of the queen resulted in a progressive weakening of royal power. Moreover, the efficient functioning of the bureaucracy was... disrupted by favoritism and nepotism. [Ref. 12:p. 338]

The resulting corruption and inefficiencies caused serious financial problems, factionalism, and the government's general loss of credibility with its people.

Even worse, there was debilitating social unrest. "From about 1800 the peninsula was racked with revolts large and small in every corner of the kingdom." [Ref. 13:p. 220] These revolts were distinguished by the banding together of many different social classes and further exacerbated by a series of epidemics, floods, and famines.

Add to this the increasing pressure on Korea from the outside. The nineteenth century brought ever increasing trade to East Asia. Consequently, sightings of foreign vessels off the Korean coasts became more and more frequent. As occasional shipwrecked survivors told of their exploits in "the Hermit Kingdom," and the West's appetite for regional trade grew, attempts to open commercial trade with Korea were inevitable. The first European vessel to attempt such dealings was Britain's *Lord Amherst* in 1832. [Ref. 13:p. 229] But it was unsuccessful; the Koreans simply ignored it.

As is frequent in times of social unrest, troubled governments often seek something to blame for the people's discontent and divert public attention from their shortcomings. The Yi government was no exception. It found a convenient scapegoat in the menace of Catholic missionaries and their converts.

Catholicism met all the government's scapegoat criteria. First, because it was an alien religion, it was easily criticized based on its association with foreigners. Korea's traditional distaste for foreigners and its policy of relative isolationism was no cultural accident or political whim. Korea had a long and bloody history of invasions from all sides. Furthermore, Catholic teachings often ran counter to many of Korean society's cultural and religious norms. The traditional Korean worship of ancestors ran counter to the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, and it was not at all unusual for the government to exact harsh punishment, even death, on early Korean Christians who defiantly burned their ancestral tablets. [Ref. 14:p. 33] Many Christian teachings were thought to strike at the very heart of Korea's Confucian family, society, and state values. Naturally, the Korean establishment had no qualms about labeling the church a genuine "threat."

As a result, Catholicism in Korea was officially banned in 1786. [Ref. 12:p. 321] To that end, the government also took painstaking measures to cut off Catholic influences from coming in from the outside. Among other things, it stopped the import of all books from Peking, and envoys to the Chinese capital were warned against having any private contacts with Chinese. Visiting a Catholic Church was expressly forbidden. [Ref. 12:p. 321] Of course, that did not make the religion disappear. In fact, the government's seeming disregard for the people and their economic distress only served to make Catholicism more attractive.

Unfortunately for the Koreans who sought refuge in that religion, their action also legitimated and worsened the government's persecution. To cope with it, Catholic connivery abounded. Korean Catholics went so far as to secure positions as servants on the annual envoy to China just so they could relay church letters to the bishop in Peking -- an action expressly forbidden by the government. They further incensed the Korean government by appealing to the Christian nations of Europe to invade and conquer Korea in their behalf (a government agent intercepted one such communication). [Ref. 14:pp. 34-35]

These and other similar Christian actions could not have come at a worse time. Early nineteenth century Korea was rife with social discord and natural catastrophe. In 1812, there was a concerted uprising by a native Korean named Hong Kyong-nae, which included rebel attacks on government offices at Kasan, Pakch'on, and Kwaksan. Within six days of those initial attacks eight towns were under rebel control. It took government troops five months of bloody fighting to take them back.

The Hong Kyong-nae rebellion was hardly an isolated incident. In 1813, there was another uprising on Cheju Island. The social unrest was further exaccerbated during the period from 1810 to 1832 when widespread flooding, fires in populated areas, and even a cholera epidemic ravaged the country -- all this without any government relief or assistance. Without government action to redress the people's grievances, more and more uprisings sprang up. They lasted almost continually, in one form or another, until the spring of 1863 when the movement seemed to exhaust itself. But still there were no reforms, and the situation remained potentially explosive.[Ref. 12:pp. 321-336]

Understandably, the results of all this turmoil were unpleasant for both Christians and country. Thousands of Christians were scourged, imprisoned, or killed. Discovered and captured priests were routinely beheaded. In addition to the government's religious arguments against the new faith on the grounds it blasphemed Confucian orthodoxy, Christian intrique and doctrine provided the government with even stronger anti-Christian political arguments. In the eyes of the Korean government, Christian appeals to foreign states for help branded them rebels, and thus enemies of the state. The government's severe persecution of Korean Christians became a constant feature of Korean life. The years of 1801, 1815, 1819, and 1827 were especially bad years for Korean Christians.

Thus, it is not surprising that so many during this period sought refuge in Catholicism and took such great risks in its behalf. It offered them hope at a time when there was little or none. Likewise, the government's hostile reaction to the organized religion is also understandable. With discontent and rebellion everywhere, the government could ill-afford another organized movement in the country, especially one with doctrines which attacked the government's very foundation and could have such a strong hold on the people.

The year 1839 was particularly bad for Korean Catholics and what happened as a result of the renewed Catholic persecutions that year played a very significant role in "setting the stage" for what was about to happen to the *General Sherman* and the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871. In the spring of 1839, after years of a somewhat conciliatory policy toward Christianity, a staunch anti-Christian party took over in Korea, setting off renewed persecution. All of the Church's foreign hierarchy was arrested, tortured, and eventually killed, as well as many of the laity (which some records indicate numbered about 9,000). Among the French priests executed was one Father L.M. Joseph Imbert, who had managed to send to the Bishop of Peking news of the executions of the other French priests just before his own execution. His letter and news of the situation in Korea kicked off a chain of events with a much more profound impact on future Korean behavior than Westerners apparently suspected.

First came the French response to news of the murdered priests. The French were outraged. While problems at home and in Europe prevented any immediate response, news of the 1839 persecutions did bring a French squadron from China in 1846. The commander, Admiral Cecile, sent an official letter to the Korean king demanding an explanation for the 1839 deaths of the French citizens in his country. However, not receiving an answer to their inquiries, the French merely left with a promise to come back. "Two French ships did indeed arrive off Cholla Province the following year, but one of them was damaged by a rock on the coast and they left without fulfilling their mission." [Ref. 13:p. 224]

The harsh French demands without punitive actions to back them up must have made a profound impression on the Koreans. They were already associating the expansion of this new Western religion with the ever expanding encroachment of Western political influence in other East Asian countries, notably China and Japan. China's loss of power, prestige, and "face" as a result of its defeat by Great Britain in the Opium War of 1839-42, as well as the United States' gunboat opening of Japan in 1853, were lessons not lost on the Koreans. When Russia later annexed the Chinese maritime province east of Amur, making a common border between Russia and Korea, the Koreans felt they had good cause to worry.

> The Korean government watched these developments in China and Japan with growing trepidation, and each new encroachment of the Westerners hardend their determination to allow no foreigners on Korean soil. [Ref. 12:pp. 352-353]

By 1866, the year the *General Sherman* was lost, the Koreans were quite ready to communicate their foreign policy positions by actions rather than discussions, and there was a man in power in Seoul determined to do just that -- the Taewon'gun (Prince of the Great Court), father of the boy king, Yi Myong-bok, who ascended to the Korean throne when King Ch'olchong died in 1864 leaving no male heir. The boy's father was to act as regent, or de facto ruler, until the youth was old enough to assume his royal responsibilities. As it turned out, the new Taewon'gun took his job quite seriously. By January 1866, he was in complete control of the Korean government.

The Taewon'gun's ascension to power was another key factor in the eventual loss of the *General Sherman* and the failure of the Low-Rodgers Expedition. A dedicated Confucian, he was anti-Christian, uncompromising, resistant to change, and refused to face any realities which conflicted with his personal beliefs.

> It was the tragic irony of his [the Taewon'gun's] life that he came to power at a time when the ideals in which he sincerely believed had become outmoded. Only a dynamic society with rapidly expanding commerce and industry could successfully oppose the mounting pressure from the West, as the example Japan clearly showed. The Taewon'gun could not see this. His only answer to Western pressure was to attempt to isolate Korea completely from the outside world, refusing all foreign contact and violently repressing all foreign ideas at home. [Ref. 12:p. 362]

The Russians were the first to find this out. In January, 1866, a Russian warship sailed into Wonsan, on Korea's northeastern coast. The Russian commander boldy demanded the liberty of trade and residence for Russian merchants. In his letter to the court at Seoul, he said that if his demand was not granted, Russian troops would cross the border to enforce it. [Ref. 14:p. 39] The Taewon'gun's response to this Russian audacity was what appears, in retrospect, to be typically Korean. He waited.

Meanwhile, certain Korean Christians sought to take advantage of this new Russian threat. One of them, Kim Ke Ho, invited a French bishop in Korea, Berneux, to aid the Korean government in dealing with the Russians. Berneux welcomed the opportunity. No doubt he thought the Church's assistance in the matter would put it in the Confucian Taewon'gun's favor. "Kim immediately wrote a letter to the regent suggesting that the most effective measure for resisting Russian aggression would be found in forming an anti-Russian alliance with

France and England, and that such an alliance could easily be negotiated through the French bishop resident in Korea." [Ref. 14:p. 40]

Although the Taewon'gun initially entertained the idea of conferring with the bishop, when Berneux arrived for an audience, the regent refused to see him. There were then new developments which destined the Catholic's new strategy to failure. The Taewon'gun's delay tactics toward the Russian warship at Wonsan worked. The Russians simply gave up and sailed away without incident. The regent must have considered it a victory for his anti-foreign policy. If he did not, he probably thought his policy needed such a victory. Because meanwhile word came from China (later revealed to be false) that the Chinese were killing all the Europeans in the empire. Furthermore, the Taewon'gun's Confucian advisors were strongly advising him against seeing the bishop and vehemently advocating that the country's standing laws against the Christians be enforced. [Ref. 14:p. 41]

For the Taewon'gun, the new circumstances dictated his forthcoming actions. Because the Russians were now no longer an immediate threat, the alliances proposed by the Catholics were unnecessary. Furthermore, to the Catholics' great misfortune, their alliance proposal seems to have brought home two deadly points to the Confucian regent. First, they must be sizable in number and strong in influence just to have reached his ear with their proposal. Second, if such a strong minority had foreign ties sufficiently strong enough to assist the court against a threatening foreign power, then that minority itself posed a potentially dangerous threat to the Korean government. After all, was it not true that Korean converts had in the past played the part of traitors on the advice of their Catholic teachers? Had they not been known to deceive officers of their government and to violate the law of the land? Might they not do so again in the future? The Taewon'gun apparently agreed with his advisors that it was time the anti-Christian laws be enforced.

The French considered the resulting situation intolerable. Word had come to Henri De Bellonet, the French *Chargé d'Affaires* in Peking, that nine of the twelve French priests in Korea had been tortured and executed by the Taewon'gun. Furthermore, the Taewon'gun launched a great nation-wide search and persecution against all the other Catholics in the kingdom. Thousands were either imprisoned or lost their lives. "News of the persecution of Catholics and the execution of the French priests had reached Peking through the escape of Father Ridel." [Ref. 12:p. 365] Bellonet called for immediate retaliation against the Koreans and thus informed the Chinese government. Calling the Korean executions "a horrible outrage" and "savage act of barbarity," by formal letter he complained to the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs:

> The government of his Majesty [the French king] cannot permit so bloody an outrage to be unpunished. The same day on which the King of Corea laid his hands upon by unhappy countrymen was the last of his reign; he himself proclaimed its end, which I in my turn solemnly declare to-day. In a few days our military forces are to march to the conquest of Corea and the Emperor, my august sovereign, alone, has now the right and the power to dispose according to his good pleasure, of the country and the vacant throne.
>
> The Chinese government has declared to me many times that it has no authority or power over Corea; and it refused on this pretext to apply the treaties of Tientsin to that country and give to our missionaries the passports which we have asked from it. We have taken note of these declarations, and we declare, now, that we do not recognise any authority whatever of the Chinese government over the kingdom of Corea. [Ref. 15:p. 420]

Prince Kung's reply was a credit to Chinese diplomacy. As one might expect, he disavowed knowledge or responsibility of the act. At the same time, he was also supportive of Korea, suggesting it was in France's best interests to take its time in responding in hopes of confirming the validity of the report Bellonet addressed. Prince Kung also implied China's distaste regarding the use of force in this situation, but conceded he understood the French had already made up their minds on the issue. At the same time, Kung made it clear the Chinese would not intercede on behalf of the Koreans, despite Korea's request for Chinese aid. [Ref. 15:p. 421]

The French wasted no time in preparing what was to become, unwittingly, the start of the long series of events related to the *General Sherman* and the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871. Admiral Rose, the commander-in-chief of the French fleet in the Far East, had already begun piecing his land and naval forces together for an expedition to Korea before the Bellonet-Kung exchange took place. The French admiral at Chefoo also had already dispatched at least one gunboat to Korea to survey the coasts and channels leading to Seoul. So determined was he that he let it be known to the American legation in Peking that he would go as far as Saigon, if necessary, to muster the necessary forces. [Ref. 16:p. 536-537]

The French infuriation produced two missions against Korea. The first, composed of but three ships, did little more than reconnoiter the area. One of these vessels seriously damaged itself off Kangwha Island. [Ref. 12:p. 365]

But it was the second French mission against Korea that had the greatest influence on later American action. Departing Chefoo on October 11, 1866, Admiral Rose and his fleet proceeded to the mouth of the Han River, then on to Kangwha, then a city of about 20,000 people. His attack commenced on October 14th, and by the 16th the French had captured the city without a single loss among their own men. While the Koreans had made great preparations to engage the French all along the Han River, the French arrived before those preparations could be completed. Consequently, the Koreans abandoned their fortifications without any real struggle when the French reappeared.

However, within days the Koreans had prepared a course of action against the French. By October 27th, the Koreans had amassed a formidable force and two limited engagements had already killed five Frenchmen and wounded another 57. Admiral Rose decided nothing could be done with his limited force and opted to leave Korea, return to China, and amass yet another, larger retaliatory force in hopes of exacting more revenge the following spring or summer. [Ref. 15:pp. 425-426]

While France's seven ships and 600 man force failed to accomplish any discernible French objective, [Ref. 11:p. 13] it did alarm the Americans by bringing back word of the fate of the *General Sherman* and its crew. It also may have influenced the eventual outcome of the as yet uncontemplated Low-Rodgers Expedition by hardening Korea's already aggravated anti-Western and anti-Christian attitudes and bolstering the Korean government's official isolationist policy. The Korean government's attitude was quite clear even before the French mission: "The barbarians from beyond the seas have violated our borders and invaded our land. If we do not fight we must make treaties with them. Those who favor making a treaty sell their country." [Ref. 5:pp. 114-115]

Along with other nearby foreign ship sightings, Korean preparations for the French return in 1866 set the stage for further developments in the evolution of U.S. policy toward Korea. A new ship was about to enter Korean waters: the *General Sherman*. Unfortunately, Korea's traditional aversion to foreigners, its policy of isolationism, anti-Catholicism and the expected French foray all made for less than a cordial reception.

III. THE *GENERAL SHERMAN* INCIDENT

The *General Sherman* was an unwitting participant in the unfolding grand design. William H. Seward, U.S. Secretary of State from March 5, 1861, to March 4, 1869, considered the Far East important from the very beginning of his tenure, entirely aware that Korea was a part of China.

> Seward was willing to enter heartily into agreements with other treaty powers for co-operation in a common policy [in the Far East]. He approved an understanding by which the powers would protect the treaty ports, give China moral support, but no military aid, against the Tai-Ping rebels, and man with foreigners the war steamers recently purchased to put down piracy along the Chinese coasts. Equal opportunities, the preservation of the territorial integrity of China, and co-operation in protecting foreigners, were the elements of his policy. [Ref. 17:p. 112]

Thus, any ship destined for Korea would have accomplished at least two of Seward's three policy objectives --- opportunity and protection. British, Russian, German, and American vessels were already frequently skirting Korean waters in the conduct of the China-Japan trade.

America, pleased with the benefits from the opening of China and its "first" by Perry's opening of Japan, was ready for more opportunity. A naval approach in which the U.S. was identified was a chance to gain the competitive edge in Korea. But it is important to note that the *General Sherman* was not sponsored by the U.S. government, nor did the U.S. government have foreknowledge of its sailing to Korea. It was a purely private entrepreneurial undertaking.

The *General Sherman* was an American centerboard trading schooner of eighty tons, with two large masts and a smaller sail on the foremast. For protection, she had two 12-pounder guns mounted broadside. Owned by an American named W.B. Preston, she was frequently chartered by the British shipping house of Meadows and Company, based at Tientsin. [Ref. 17:p. 96] Curiously, owner Preston decided to accompany the *General Sherman* on its voyage to Korea for the sake of his health. [Ref. 15:p. 428] He, Mr. Page, the ship's captain, and Mr. Wilson, the Chief Mate, were the only Americans on board. The officer-in-charge of commercial concerns during the voyage was Mr. George Hogarth, a British subject. [Ref. 18:p. 100]

Also on board the *General Sherman* was a Scottish missionary by the name of Robert Jermain Thomas. Mr. Thomas had been to Korea once before, and quite recently. At great personal risk (would he have taken such risk had his wife not died the year before?), he had gone to Korea in September, 1865, as an agent of the National Bible Society of Scotland to distribute a large stock of Chinese Bibles among the Korean Christians rumored being persecuted there. During the two and a half months Thomas was in Korea, he acquired some knowledge of the Korean language and is known to have distributed the Bibles. By land and sea, he managed to return to Peking in January, 1866, just as the Taewon'gun began the latest Catholic persecutions.[Ref. 14:pp. 47-49]

In its later request for American help in determining the fate of the *General Sherman*, Meadows and Company said Mr. Thomas was on board only as a passenger "to visit Corea again, in order to extend his knowledge of the Corean language...." [Ref. 15:p. 428]. No doubt that explanation contains some truth. Thomas was known to have been studying the Korean language ever since his return to China in January.

Apparently he had been doing so with the aid of refugee Koreans in Chefoo who no doubt ensured the Reverend Thomas appreciated the Taewon'gun's terrible Catholic persecutions in Korea. [Ref. 19:p. 9]

However, it is doubtful the Korean language was Mr. Thomas' only interest. France's Admiral Rose, incensed by the Koreans' murder of French priests and planning retaliation for the deed, also sought Thomas' assistance due to his knowledge of the coast and the language. Apparently Thomas' friendly reception by the people during his first trip to Korea was already well known in the foreign community at Chefoo and Peking. Likewise, Thomas must have already made good progress with the Korean language for his linguistic talents to command the attention of a foreign admiral. It has also been recorded that Thomas agreed to accompany the admiral but grew impatient with the expedition's delays and embarked upon the *General Sherman*. [Ref. 14:p. 50]

The fact is, Thomas was the ship's interpreter -- and more. All communication between the *General Sherman* and the Koreans was through him. British subjects in these two key positions could explain the later Korean assertion they destroyed a British, not American, ship.

The precise number of the remaining crew is still uncertain. Accounts of its composition vary anywhere from two Malays and six Chinese to 15-20 Malays and Chinese. Whichever count is adhered to, among them were a Chinese pilot and a Cantonese shroff, or money changer. [Ref. 15:p. 428]

A. THE *GENERAL SHERMAN'S* VOYAGE TO KOREA

The *General Sherman* sailed from Tientsin, Meadows and Company's homeport, for Chefoo on July 29, 1866. At Chefoo, it took on most of its cargo and a few more crewmen, including both the Englishmen. Meadows & Company, the charterer of the *General Sherman* claimed the vessel sailed to Korea with a cargo of foreign merchandise for the sole purpose of trade. Its cargo was said to consist of cotton goods, glass, tin plates and other assorted merchandise, merchandise specifically presumed to be attractive to the Koreans. [Ref. 15:p. 427] The owner, Preston, also came to an agreement with Meadows and Company that the ship should try to return with a cargo of Korean merchandise. All this was quite in keeping with its stated purpose of possibly opening Korea to commercial intercourse. [Ref. 19:p. 8]

The *General Sherman* left Chefoo on August 9th. Its attempted stopover at White Wing Island, one of the Sir James Hall group, was a precursor that the voyage to Korea was to be ill-fated. No sooner had the *General Sherman* anchored there than, for some unknown reason, the Mandarin in charge of the island ordered his garrison to attack it. [Ref. 19:p. 9] But nothing came from that incident. The vessel continued on to the northeastern coast of Korea toward the mouth of the Taedong River. Its first anchorage near the Korean coast was at Totchom where, curiously, Mr. Thomas was met by a Chinese sailor named Yu Wen Tai in another prepositioned vessel. Apparently they knew each other quite well; Yu Wen Tai was the same Chinese sailor who brought Thomas and his Bibles to Korea the previous year.[2] Thomas' initial request of Yu to guide the *General Sherman* up the Taedong River to Pyongyang was accepted. But upon reaching Moon U-Koo, Yu was forced, or so he claimed, to decline going further. His crew wanted no part of a voyage into the "Hermit Kingdom." Consequently, Yu Wen Tai refused to proceed and returned to Chefoo. [Ref. 19:p. 10]

Interestingly enough, however, no one approached to help in determining the *General Sherman's* fate -- the British, the Americans, the Chinese, or the Japanese -- disputed or even questioned that the ship's mission was simply one of trade. Curiously, no American diplomatic correspondence related to the *General Sherman* ever addressed what flag the vessel sailed under. Nor did such correspondence from the American legation make mention of anyone approaching the legation to procure American sponsorship or authorization of the *General Sherman*. In fact, it was somewhat American policy not to allow the American flag on such unofficial, uncondoned business. That was considered improper or unlawful use of the U.S. flag. When, in October 1866, a Mr. White approached the legation to use the U.S. flag in the conveyance of Chinese goods on a Chinese ship, his request drew heated criticism from U.S. Secretary of State, William H. Seward, who made his stand on the issue quite clear.

---

[2] Yu Wen Tai is one of those interesting and mysterious characters in history who appear to play a pivotal role in certain events, but about whom history provides only cursory mention. Yu was obviously a key factor in the original *General Sherman* plan, then later showed up as an influencing personality in Shufeldt's later fact-finding mission to Korea. To what true extent his influence played in the failure of both missions may never be known.

> It is not deemed advisable that the discussion with the Chinese authorities of the affair of the boat for which a United States flag was furnished by a Mr. White should be continued. This government should not in any way countenance the improper or unlawful use of that flag. If we connive at its abuse by Chinese for covering their property in their own country, and thereby evading obligations, we must expect to be regarded as derogating from our duty as a just and friendly power. [Ref. 16:p. 563]

Nevertheless, the Koreans had good reason to question the true nature of the *General Sherman's* mission. For one thing, its heavy guns caused Korean doubts about the mission's peaceful intent. [Ref. 4:p. 5] In fact, "there were credible reports that [the ship's] real purpose was to plunder the tombs of the Korean kings at Ping An [Pyong-an], take the gold and jewels which they contained, and hold the royal remains for ransom." [Ref. 6:p. 230] Where these "credible reports" came from is uncertain. But with the Westerners' liberal use of Chinese crewman, pilots, and money changers, it certainly would not be difficult for rumors to get started and find their way to Korea. Likewise, with the long history of Chinese pirate raids on the coast of Korea, the mere presence of men who looked like pirates on board probably raised Korean suspicions of their intent to commit piracy.

B. THE *GENERAL SHERMAN* IN KOREA

Rumors notwithstanding, most previous Western historical accounts have embraced one basic rendition of what happened during that fateful voyage.

> Early in September the sailing vessel *General Sherman* entered the mouth of the Ta-dong River... The governor of P'yung-an Province sent, demanding the cause of her coming and the answer was that they desired to open up trade with Korea. Though told that this was impossible, the foreign vessel not only did not leave but, on the contrary, pushed up the river until she reached a point opposite Yang-jak Island not far from the city of P'yung-yang [*sic*]. It

> was only the heavy rains in the interior and an exceptionally high tide that allowed her to get across the [sand] bar, and soon she was stuck in the mud, and all hopes of ever saving her were gone. This rash move astonished the Koreans above measure. Something desperate must be the intentions of men who would drive a ship thus to certain destruction. After a time word came from the Regent to attack her if she did not leave at once. [Ref. 20:p. 207]

At precisely this point things got out of control. In desperation, the Americans provoked the Koreans by kidnapping a local official.

> Then the fight began, but without effect on either side until the Koreans succeeded in setting fire to the *General Sherman* with fire-rafts. The officers and crew then were forced to drop into the water, where many of them were drowned. Those that reached the shore were immediately hewn down by the frenzied populace. [Ref. 20:p. 207]

It was further rumored that those crewmembers who did survive the fire and water were then decapitated by the angry mob that fell on them. [Ref. 21]

However, some records deny that the *General Sherman's* crewmen simply were peaceful, good-intentioned, aspiring merchantmen who were forced into a desperate criminal act when frightened by an irrational and frenzied populace. Some doutbts have been raised by unanswered questions. For example, why did Mr. R.J. Thomas grow so impatient with the slow preparations for the French punitive expedition of Admiral Rose and book passage on the *General Sherman*? What motivated the ship's owner, Mr. Preston, and Meadows & Company to seek to open trade with the Kingdom of Korea at a time when that country's growing anti-foreign and anti-Christian sentiments were at an all time high? Were Thomas' motivations for returning to Korea purely missionary?

If Thomas was returning to Korea simply to spread the Gospel among the oppressed heathens, then it could have been that "he came to Korea neither as a pilot nor as a mere student of the language. He came to perfect his knowledge in order to preach the Gospel and establish a Protestant Mission in this land." [Ref. 19:p. 9]

However, from this point on, as E.M. Cable so astutely points out in his study of the period, there were no *General Sherman* survivors. Therefore, there were no first-person accounts to refer to and compare with what we do have -- Korean Yi Dynasty Annals. Cable's translations and study of these reports is the only real source available regarding the movements of the *General Sherman* in its progress up the river and the crew's fate near Pyongyang. Despite some obvious shortcomings, their remarkable detail provides insight into the circumstances and people of the ill-fated vessel.

The Yi Dynasty Annals allow us to understand much of the root causes of the tragedies that befell both the *General Sherman* and the subsequent Low-Rodgers Expedition. They also make the people involved in both incidents very real. The Reverend R.J. Thomas, for example, turns out to be a much more important personage on the *General Sherman* than other sources have suggested. In fact, from the Korean perspective, Thomas was most significant personality. From the onset, it is important to remember that the Korean Annals do not challenge previous assertions about him that he wanted to improve his Korean language ability or spread the Gospel. They do, however, show that he was the key figure in *General Sherman* events that transpired from the moment the vessel reached the coast of Korea. His actions, as recorded by the Koreans, also suggest that he bear a high proportion of responsibility for the tragic outcome.

Initial contacts between the *General Sherman's* crew and the Koreans involved both officials and commoners. A significant contact between the *General Sherman's* crew and the Koreans came on August 15, 1866. By this time the vessel's crewmen had already conducted some coastal surveys and visited some smaller villages in the area of Yonggang-hyon, near the mouth of the Taedong River. Yi Yongsang, a high ranking military officer sent by the Governor of Pyongyang, was commissioned to investigate the arrival of the foreign vessel. He, in turn, ordered a local man familiar with the river and its currents to help him establish contact with the foreigners. It was this local commoner who first stepped foot on the *General Sherman*. [Ref. 19:p. 12]

As might be expected from visitors seeking a new and profitable relationship, this first Korean to visit the ship was treated quite well. The crew leaders introduced him around and gave him some fine drink from Peking. He liked it, too. Furthermore, they were quite open with him about where they wished to go. "They told me that the ship was anchoring there for only a short time and that they intended to go to Pyengyang." [Ref. 19:p. 13] However, the initial cordiality by both sides faded quickly.

Mr. Thomas, calling himself Mr. Ch'oe Nanhyon and taking control of all intercourse between the crew and the Korean, started asking questions that made the Korean become defensive. When asked about the character of the country around Pyongyang and how much wealth there was in the country, the Korean replied to his questions in the Chinese language to avoid any misunderstandings possible due to Thomas' lack of

the realities of Korean isolationism and European imperialism, and the probabilities of eventual success and the necessity to use force.

Seward envisioned the mission to Korea having two primary objectives. First, the mission could procure information of the *General Sherman's* loss or destruction and, if necessary, some appropriate indemnity. Secondly, the mission could obtain a treaty with Korea. [Ref. 25:p. 337]

The first objective, like Seward's verdict in the Jenkins trial, may tell us a great deal about Seward, the man. Despite the two previous fact finding missions to Korea, all the confirming information about the *General Sherman* through other Chinese and Korean channels, and Seward's personal embarrassment from the Jenkins-Oppert affair, Seward still wished to use the *General Sherman* as the rationale for undertaking a mission to Korea. Seward openly expressed his dissatisfaction, if not disbelief, with Korean explanations of the events surrounding the schooner's loss. But his personal pride and abhorrence of what transpired during the Jenkins-Oppert affair may have also been at play. In this new modified proposal, he asserted:

> We cannot be indifferent to the propriety of offering to Corea an explanation of our views and conduct in regard to the recent expedition of an armed force for the purpose of exhuming and holding for ransom the remains of one or more sovereigns of that country, in which one of our citizens has been charged as a leader. It is satisfactory to know that we have only to ask from Corea proof that she has dealt as honorably with us in the *Sherman* cases as we have with her in the latter matter. [Ref. 25:p. 338]

Was Seward feeling responsible for the repulsive Jenkins-Oppert endeavor or was he simply seeking a more honorable a means by which to redeem himself? While Seward's rationale for the first objective of his proposal seems superficial, if not flimsy and clouded by personal motives, the second objective appeared much more pragmatic. He cited the active and ever growing commercial trade between China and Japan, the Korean peninsula's convenient positioning between the two, Korea's close proximity to expanding Russia, and the possible stakes and chances of the other competing European powers to succeed with Korea. Seward was clearly of the opinion Korea could not possibly exclude foreigners much longer. Perhaps thinking Korea's rulers held a similar view, he stated that obtaining a treaty with Korea should not prove very difficult, especially if it simply concerned the safety of seamen wrecked on the Korean coast. But Seward was careful to temper his optimism with pragmatism, admitting "a considerable show of force would probably be needed to secure a general [commercial] treaty." [Ref. 25:p. 338]

Seward's preference to use force to open Korea was rooted in two things. First, he had a firm appreciation for the processes and upheaval that had been transpiring in East Asia, not to mention the contribution to both made by the introduction of foreigners. Surely, he reasoned, the association of radical changes with foreigners was not lost on the Koreans. But if Korea did not possess insightful leaders able to see the inevitable trends of the future and to adapt accordingly, then that was still no reason to delay U.S. action. "Japan accepted Commodore Perry's peaceful but formidable mission without great opposition...." [Ref. 25:p. 339]

While it may never be known whether George Seward was indeed a man of farreaching "vision," or whether he was simply recommending something more immediate and tailored to serve his own career, ultimately Seward proceeded to plant the seeds of the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871. His proposed mission was for a joint diplomatic-naval expedition under the names of both Seward and Admiral Rowan. While the proposal did not recommend a specific number of vessels to be used for the mission, Seward professed a belief that the greater the number the greater the chances for success.

George Seward's latest proposal did not reach Washington, D.C., until December 7, 1868. The almost two months transit time may have spared him the further personal embarrassment of a failure in Korea. By the time his proposal for the joint diplomatic-naval expedition arrived at the State Department, his uncle William had more important crises to deal with than his nephew's speculative correspondence about a country few knew or cared anything about.

With the inauguration of a new president fast approaching, and thus his tenure as Secretary of State drawing to a close, William Seward was immersed trying to cope with one of the frequent civil wars of Santo Domingo (now the Dominican Republic). The government of that fledgling republic asked that it be taken under American protection. This meshed well with the older Seward's plan to acquire a naval outpost in the West Indies. With the start of 1869, the U.S. Secretary of State was working frantically to make U.S. annexation of Santo Domingo a reality. Along with that, William Seward was also desperately trying to get the Senate to ratify a treaty he had successfully negotiated to transfer the Danish West Indies to the United States. [Ref. 26:pp. 113-114]

With his time as Secretary of State waning, the older Seward probably had no wish to approve or pursue a distant, not to mention questionable, undertaking of which he had no hope of seeing concluded. By the time he left office on March 4, 1869, he may have not even seen his nephew's latest proposal.

V. THE LOW-RODGERS MISSION

It is also safe to assume William H. Seward's immediate successor, Elihu Benjamin Washburne, never saw George Seward's Korea proposal, either. Amid considerable political infighting and maneuvering within the Grant Administration, as well as between the Administration and Congress, Secretary Washburne held the office for only five days.

A. KEY PERSONNEL

1. Hamilton Fish

When Hamilton Fish became U.S. Secretary of State on March 11, 1869, he found a full agenda of unfinished business left over from the previous administration. The Santo Domingo annexation which William Seward had so frantically pursued before departing was still being hotly debated in Congress. There also remained some serious potential complications with Great Britain as a result of its ties and assistance to the Confederacy during the Civil War. Furthermore, there was an insurrection raging in Cuba with consequent injuries to American interests there. [Ref. 27:pp. 128-131]

In Asia, Sino-Western relations were at an all time low. Domestic turmoil there was rampant and causing a pronounced threat to American lives and property, particularly missionaries. Chinese piracy was becoming an intolerable threat to all foreign shipping. On the other hand, Japan was in the midst of the Meiji restoration, setting itself the primary task of developing its own military and economic power as a means by which to achieve relative equality with the Western powers and, thus, avoid the subjugation that befell China. [Ref. 28]

Within a year, the new U.S. Secretary of State would also witness the breakout of the Franco-German War and extreme European instability. Facing all this and more, Hamilton Fish was at a distinct disadvantage. Not only had he been out of public office for twelve years, but he also had no prior experience in either foreign policy or any other form of diplomatic affairs. [Ref. 27:p. 125] Given these circumstances, it is no surprise opening Korea held top priority with neither Mr. Fish nor President Grant.

But after that first year, Fish appeared to be coming to grips with the office and its problems. In Asia he was able to focus on China and even had an appreciation of how the Franco-German War might spill over into the Far East. There were also some new key American personalities in the Far East. Two of them, Frederick F. Low, the new U.S. Minister to China, and Rear Admiral John Rodgers, the new Commander of the Asiatic Squadron, were destined to plan, organize and accompany the American expedition to Korea in 1871.

2. Frederick F. Low

Frederick Low was keenly interested in the Far East long before President Grant appointed him U.S. Minister to China, succeeding J. Ross Browne, in December 1869. His first experience with the Far East came at the age of fifteen when he worked for the East India firm, Russell, Sturgis, and Company of Boston. Somewhat of a "self-educated" man, Low eventually made his way to California where he founded and ran several businesses and later became a successful capitalist and investor.

Low entered politics in 1861. By 1862 he had won a congressional seat, and in 1863 accepted President Lincoln's appointment as the collector of the port of San Francisco. Elected governor of California before the year was finished, Low was only 45 years old.

It was during his tenure as governor that he became more attuned to the Chinese. Modest and unassuming in character, he was an exceptionally honest man with a strong sense of duty and moral courage. In an age of racial bigotry nowhere was this more obvious than in Low's defense of Chinese immigrants, as well as other minorities, in California. He energetically pushed for developing a California irrigation system that would permit the introduction of rice culture and help employ the state's Asian population. He was also a great advocate of commerce with China and Japan and considered China a great potential market for California products. No doubt Low looked upon his appointment as Minister to China as a great challenge and opportunity. [Ref. 29]

He was not disappointed. Minister Low had been in Peking for a very short time before Secretary of State Fish tasked him to help coordinate a combined naval action with the British and Germans to deal with the pirates in Chinese waters. By June that same year, he found himself reporting on the Tientsin Massacre[5] and its tumultuous aftermath. During the course of his investigations into the root causes of the Tientsin Massacre and some possible suggestions for minimizing future damage to American concerns in China, Low was deeply affected by what he found.

---

[5] The Tientsin Massacre occurred on June 21, 1870, as a result of mob violence that killed the French consul and 20 other foreigners, mainly French, including ten nuns. Catholic establishments in Tientsin were also destroyed. Outraged and fearful foreign powers mobilized gunboats off Tientsin, and Sino-Western relations reached an new low.

Of particular note was a continuing dialogue between Low and the Chinese foreign minister, Wan-tsiang. Wan-tsiang was expressing his outrage throughout the foreign diplomatic community about the offensive behavior of some Christian missionaries. Specifically, he cited those missionaries and their converts who were using their religion as a shield behind which they defrauded and offended the Chinese people.[Ref. 30:pp. 110-111] Low's reply to Wan-tsiang's indignation revealed much about the U.S. Minister, his dedication to his office and mutual understanding between the two countries, and his sense of justice.

> To assure peace in the future, the people must be better informed of the purposes of foreigners. They must be taught that merchants are engaged in trade which cannot but be beneficial to both native and foreigner, and that missionaries seek only the welfare of the people, and are engaged in no political plots or intrigues against the government. Whenever cases occur in which the missionaries overstep the bounds of decorum, or interfere in matters with which they have no proper concern, let each case be reported promptly to the minister of the country to which it belongs. Such isolated instances should not produce prejudice or engender hatred against those who observe their obligations, nor should sweeping complaints be made against all on this account...
>
> If the danger is as great as the contents of your communication would appear to indicate, and that, owing to the ignorance of the common people, all will be likely to suffer, irrespective of nationality or religious belief, then it certainly is a matter of great concern to all foreign governments, which should lead them to consult and seek means to prevent, if possible, such a catastrophe, and also adopt measures for defining their rights under the several treaties.
>
> If I have failed to comprehend fully the difficulties and dangers which surround the situation which you have endeavored to point out, or if I have omitted noticing any point of importance, I am quite ready and willing to meet you and the other members of the Foreign Office, and discuss these as well as other questions of difference between your country and foreign nations, in a spirit of forbearance,

> with an earnest desire to so arrange and settle all questions that peace and mutual confidence may long continue. [Ref. 30:p. 110]

Frederick Low was definitely a man of substance.

3. Admiral John Rodgers, Jr.

In contrast to Low's initial lack of diplomatic experience, Admiral Rodgers was a seasoned Civil War veteran, who had proved himself in both battle and command. From 1861 to 1865, the admiral had amassed an impressive record and reputation for gallantry and chivalric courage, and his whole career had been an example of unimpeded progression. At the age of fifty-eight, he had already seen action in the Seminole and Mexican wars, conducted the first scientific exploration of the Bering Strait, and during the Civil War had been a skilled and gallant commander of Union ironclad monitors. The admiral also had prior experience in the Far East. In the mid-1850's, as second in command of the North Pacific Exploring and Surveying Expedition, he had helped chart the China Sea and the Sea of Japan. Furthermore, in view of what was about to happen in Korea, it is interesting to note he had taken part in a landing of forces on the Liuchiu (Ryukyu) Islands (to secure the natives' observance of their treaty obligations to the United States) and was quite familiar with Perry's tactics in opening Japan. [Ref. 31:p. 21] He was also considered a highly educated officer. His professionalism was further accentuated by a reputation for good judgment, as well as a knack for knowing the exact moment when diplomacy must yield to force. [Ref. 32:p. 74]

Together, these men were destined to plan and sail on a mission for which circumstance and the unknown had already decided the outcome.

B. THE EXPEDITION'S PURPOSE AND PLANNING

Regardless of true intent and stated purpose, the Low-Rodgers Expedition was doomed to failure and misinterpretation from the very beginning. Its size, composition, and timing invited rumors, mistruths, or Korean suspicions. For one thing, more than half of the entire Asiatic Squadron's fleet of just nine ships was committed to the endeavor. All five vessels -- the *Colorado*, the *Monocacy*, the *Palos*, the *Alaska*, and the *Benicia* -- were heavily armed. [Ref. 20:p. 212] In fact, the flagship *Colorado* was one of the largest ships in the U.S. Navy. It had a draft of 23 feet, was able to carry its own assault force, and had heavy artillery for bombardment from sea [Ref. 33:p. 344]. There were also over 1,200 seamen and marines on the expedition, and all of the other ships' captains were seasoned combat veterans [Ref. 18:p. 234].

Then there was the poor timing. The "Hermit Kingdom" had been known for its refusal to have intercourse with the outside world for centuries. Granted, as the world's commerce pressed ever forward, it made sense for the Western countries to seek to draw Korea into their game. After all, Korea's central location amidst the trade routes of the East appeared to present but yet another profitable commercial opportunity.

But Western strategies failed to consider Korea's long history of outside invasions and the foreign policy traditions that history spawned. Korea's traumatic recent history profoundly reinforced those traditions among the governing elites. In just the five years immediately preceding the Low-Rodgers Expedition, Korea was beseiged on all sides. There was the Russians' trading ultimatum (1866), the aggravation of the *General Sherman* (1866), two French punitive expeditions (1866), Japanese warships reconnoitering and plundering its coasts, and two U.S. warships surveying its waters in direct reaction to the *General Sherman* (1867, 1868), were just a few examples. The Koreans must have felt very uncomfortable knowing this latest armed expedition was approaching. They were quite aware of the turmoil the Westerners were causing in China and Japan.

The Koreans may have also been a little overconfident. Throughout all the foreign ultimatums and interventions over the previous half decade, Korea considered itself the victor in each confrontation. Had not the French, Americans, Japanese and Russians all departed Korean waters without their intended result? Korea had never given in before; why should it be any different with the Low-Rodgers Expedition?

Many historians have labeled the Low-Rodgers Expedition a revenge mission. Rumors about its purpose were rampant for the better part of a year before the expedition set sail. Even the American press called the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 "Our Little War with the Heathen." [Ref. 23:p. 11]

But if the Low-Rodgers Expedition was not premeditated revenge for the *General Sherman*, then what was its purpose? Where did the idea come from, and who planned it?

The actual planning for the expedition took more than a year. On April 20, 1870, U.S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish commissioned Frederick F. Low directly, authorizing him to open negotiations with Korean authorities "for the purpose of securing a treaty for the protection of shipwrecked mariners...." [Ref. 25:p. 334] That was the official primary purpose of the mission from the very beginning. The mission's secondary purpose was some sort of commercial arrangement, not further defined, with the Korean government. It must be emphasized that Minister Low was supposed to pursue such arrangements only if an obvious opportunity presented itself, and Fish took pains to ensure Low understood that President Grant's principal aim for the mission was only "to secure protection and good treatment to such seamen of the United States as may unhappily be wrecked upon those shores." [Ref. 25:p. 334] There was absolutely no hint of any revenge for the loss of the *General Sherman*, and, from the outset, the intentions of the United States towards Korea were purely peaceful.

Some important details for the expedition were worked out and dictated by Washington from the beginning. The Department of State had already coordinated with the Department of the Navy to ensure Admiral John Rodgers accomodate Low on the mission and spelled out both men's roles. While Low would be responsible for the mission's planning and conduct overall, he was also advised he must take full advantage of Admiral Rodgers experience and counsel, even if that meant at times deferring to Rodgers' superior knowledge in naval matters. Low was also counselled to heed the advice of former consul George F. Seward, who at the time was in the United States. In fact, Low was told to be patient and deliberate in his planning to ensure Seward had time to return to China and discuss arrangements with Low prior to the mission. In his instructions, Fish even included George Seward's past dispatches from which came the original idea for a U.S.-sanctioned mission to open Korea

[Ref. 25:p. 334]. No doubt these instructions were the direct result of Seward's extensive lobbying for the mission during his Washington, D.C., sojurn. Financial arrangements for the mission were also attended to by Washington. Low was told to draw any necessary expenses from Messrs. Baring Brothers & Company of London [Ref. 25:p. 335]. In effect, Low was given a blank check. All Fish required was that Low keep account of his expenses.

As for the possible use of force during the mission, that was to be avoided unless if to do so dishonored the United States. The Secretary of State still displayed considerable faith in Minister Low. All actions, all judgments, all lines drawn were to be solely at Low's discretion. [Ref. 25:p. 335]

Of course, the man with the original proposal was George Seward, and it is obvious that, while in the United States, Seward had approached Fish about his proposal of a mission to Korea face-to-face. However, there is no reason to suppose Low's enthusiasm for the mission was dampened because it was another man's idea. On the contrary, Low had already taken to heart Hamilton Fish's previous instructions regarding China, issued on December 3, 1869, which told him to "be unyielding in demanding the extreme protection to American citizens, commerce, and property which is conceded by the [earlier] treaties." [Ref. 17:p. 154]

But apparently Low also wished to carry Fish's policies beyond China. With American trade in the region continually increasing, he agreed some sort of treaty with Korea to protect our shipwrecked seamen was essential to U.S. interests. Furthermore, "he also regarded [Korea] as situated at the crossroads of empire in the northern Pacific." [Ref.

18:p. 234] Thus, he concluded it would be smart to attempt a trading arrangement at the same time. Low believed that:

> the commerce with China, Japan, and Russian Manchuria required vessels to skirt the coast of Korea and thus brought prominently into view the undesirability of allowing a country directly in the track of a great commerce bounded on two sides by the sea, to remain with its coasts, outlying islands and dangerous passages, totally unexplored. [Ref. 18:p. 233]

Hence, Secretary of State Fish and Low were in total agreement. It is also extremely important to note that references to the *General Sherman* never entered into their communications about the upcoming expedition. Throughout the Fish-Low correspondence nothing ever suggested that the 1871 expedition was to be any sort of revenge for the *General Sherman*. On the contrary, instead of dwelling on the *General Sherman's* past misfortune, the men and their planning concentrated solely on the potential benefits to be derived from future Korean-American relations.

After receiving Fish's initial instructions, Low immediately started making all the necessary travel and support arrangements with Admiral Rodgers. But any discussions they had were strictly preliminary. Ostensibly, Low preferred to delay any definitive plans until George Seward returned to Peking so he could take advantage of Seward's thoughts and previous experience. However, given Low's calculating, shrewd background in business and politics, it is more likely he wished to use the delay to gather information about Korea to make some of his own assessments. One of the first things he did was approach the Chinese government for information and assistance. After meeting with the Chinese, Low reported:

> The Chinese government will, I doubt not, lend its good offices in aid of our efforts in that direction [the mission to Korea], but it is questionable whether they will prove of much practical utility. [Ref. 25:p. 362]

Knowing Korea was substantially a nation independent of China, with little intercourse between the two except an annual tribute delegation and some private trade, Low felt obligated to be as candidly pessimistic about the expedition as he was supportive.

> The object aimed at, in connection with the proposed expedition, is well worth the effort, and I shall use all available means to make the negotiations a success; although candor compels me to say I am not sanguine. I shall be glad to avail myself of Mr. Seward's experience and assistance in this matter; hence no preparations will be made for the expedition until next year, when he will be able to accompany me. [Ref: 25:pp. 362-363]

But, Low did not idly wait for Seward's return. In fact, he kept quite alert to any developments throughout the Western diplomatic community in Peking which might have some potential bearing on the upcoming expedition to Korea. One such incident was a Japanese-assisted mission by the North German Union that took place in June 1870. Baron de Rehfues, the German minister in Peking, was kind enough to share a letter about the experience from M. Von Brandt, the North German Union's minister in Japan, with Low. The purpose of the German mission was the same as the upcoming Low-Rodgers Expedition: a treaty regarding the treatment of shipwrecked mariners.

However, German motivations behind sharing their experience with the Americans were unclear. They may have simply wished to provide whatever assistance possible. Then again, because their encounter with the Koreans was an unqualified failure, they may have intended to dissuade the Americans from a similar attempt. Whatever the case, the German account of their Korean mission did nothing to encourage Low. The Koreans not only refused to even talk with the Germans, but they also chastised the Japanese who had accompanied the Germans for daring to come to Korea on board a foreign vessel. They told the Japanese that Korean-Japanese relations, which in themselves amounted to little, would be broken off entirely until the Japanese who had come to Korea on board the German vessel left the country. [Ref. 30:pp. 74-75]

George F. Seward finally returned to Peking in November 1870, where he spoke with Low and Admiral Rodgers regarding the opening of Korea. The results of their discussions consisted of several basic guidelines and considerations by which the expedition would be conducted. All were quite practical. First, the expedition was to set sail and visit the coast of Korea during a favorable season. This was obviously a safety consideration no doubt induced by the record of wrecked ships on the Korean coast. The Americans already suspected they would have their hands full enough with the Koreans just trying to initiate a dialogue; they wished to mitigate the probable necessity of also coping with severe weather and possible loss of life and vessel. Second, the expedition would be scheduled in such a way that it minimally interferred with the Asiatic Squadron's other naval missions. [Ref: 34:pp. 73-74] This seemed quite reasonable considering the potential for incidents in the aftermath of the Franco-German War. Also, the pirate issue along the Chinese coast was not yet fully dealt with, and the memory of the Tientsin Massacre was still fresh in everyone's mind. The anti-foreign feeling in China also remained quite high. If naval assistance became necessary, some assets of the Squadron had to remain.

The discussants also set tentative departure points and dates. As for when the mission would commence, they agreed the expedition should leave from either Shanghai or Chefoo sometime between the 1st and 15th of May, 1871 [Ref. 30:p. 74]. Chefoo was the preferred departure and temporary basing point due to its closer proximity to Korea and how that would facilitate any necessary resupply and communication with the outside world. But the experienced Rodgers no doubt anticipated some possible unknown circumstances might arise, and thus opted for a backup position. Finally, Low wisely made it clear that, due to the unpredictable temperment of the Koreans, no pre-established diplomatic procedure would be used once the expedition arrived in Korea. Apparently, Low decided to use the discretionary judgment Fish encouraged and reserved for himself the flexibility necessary to make the expedition a diplomatic success.

At this point it appeared unlikely Seward would be accompanying the expedition. As it turned out, his return to Peking to confer with Low and Rodgers was nothing more than a convenient stopover on his way to visit India. Seward could not promise he would be back in time for the expedition's May departure. In relating this to Secretary of State Fish, Low's tone suggests he was displeased with either Seward or the situation. There may have been some friction between the two men.

However, whether Seward accompanied the expedition or not was already relatively immaterial to Low. Taking advantage of the information provided him by the Germans, Low requested Fish send him a formal commission authorizing Low to negotiate and sign treaties on behalf of the United States. Low was quick to point out that "it appears that the Coreans are disposed to seize upon any subterfuge to oppose the entrance of foreigners into their domains." [Ref. 30:p. 74] He also committed himself to obtaining further information about Korea and the Koreans from the Chinese and the soon to be visiting Korean tribute officers.

Was Minister Low now trying to ensure his success or was he attempting to guard against blame in the event of failure in Korea? Did his personal encounter with Seward during the planning session motivate him concerning the expedition, or did Seward's scheme now impress him as merely one man's diplomatic fantasy without substance? Where was a diplomat to draw the line between honest and practical assessment and outright pessimism? Was Low simply demonstrating a negative reaction to being tasked with carrying out someone else's risky idea? Whatever the case, Low, the ever-dedicated public servant, again found himself questioning the likelihood of success.

> As stated in a former dispatch, I am not sanguine of favorable results; at the same time the object aimed at is worthy of the trial, and no effort on my part shall be wanting to accomplish it. [Ref. 30:p. 74]

Low systematically continued gathering information and making his own diplomatic preparations for the expedition. Among other things, Low kept the Chinese Foreign Office fully informed of his plans. Reminiscent of the French and Chinese correspondence following the Korean murders of the French priests and immediately prior to the French retaliatory expeditions of 1866, Low asked the Chinese for assistance regarding the Koreans. However, because his mission was much more amicable in nature, the tone of the correspondence was markedly less hostile and defensive than that of the French. He merely requested the Chinese provide him information about Korea and that they forward an official letter from Low to the Korean authorities. Adhering to strict traditional diplomatic protocol between the two countries, China went to considerable lengths to deliver Low's letter. Chinese Foreign Office representatives travelled to Korea, presented a memorial to the Board of Rites and requested the memorial be sent on to the King of Korea. Eventually the throne was memorialized and an answer proffered.

But the answer surprised even the Chinese. The Koreans only acknowledged receipt of the letter, stated to do so was a precedent and that they would never receipt for or otherwise entertain similar communications in the future. Thus, although the Chinese did go somewhat out of their way to accomodate Low, the result was basically the same. No headway was made with the Koreans, and the Chinese simply gave their standard explanation -- Korea was an independent nation over which the Chinese had no influence. [Ref. 30:p. 112]

While Low was gathering information and exploring diplomatic channels, Admiral Rodgers was preparing the squadron. Shanghai was later picked over Chefoo as the point of departure for the expedition, apparently due to some fleet business unrelated to the expedition requiring the admiral's presence. Of course, the presence of the minister and admiral made the flagship *Colorado* a given. Also accompanying them were the *Monocacy* and the *Palos*. The *Benicia* and *Alaska*, on duty around Japan, were to be called upon to rendevous at Nagasaki. Such a plan would not take all the fleet's resources away from either China or Japan, and the mix of vessels would ensure adequate men and fire-power necessary to cope with any likely contingency.

The plan finally adopted called for the *Colorado*, *Monocacy* and *Palos* to leave Shanghai for Nagasaki on May 5th. At Nagasaki they would be joined by the *Benicia* and *Alaska*, delay several days for resupply and mission coordination, then head for Korea. Once in Korea, the admiral and his forces would be at the service of Minister Low. Upon completion of the mission, all five ships would return to Chefoo. With his extensive combat experience, as well as his prior duty in the Far East and his personal knowledge of the success of Perry's gunboat diplomacy in Japan, Admiral Rodgers no doubt felt confident his naval formula for the expedition was the right one.

C. THE VOYAGE TO KOREA

From their moorings in the port of Yokohama, the *Benicia* and *Alaska* were ordered the last week of April to assemble at Nagasaki in the latter part of May, 1871. The *Benicia* was commanded by Commander L.A. Kimberly and the *Alaska* by Commander Homer C. Blake. The vessels were sister ships, both relatively new steam sloops with the same displacement, weight of battery, size of spars and sails, and number of crew. They sailed by both steam and sail. Usually the boilers were used to maneuver or take them out to open sea. Once there, the boilers would be reduced to idling and the sails took over as the primary means of propulsion. Both commanders and crews had a solid reputation for maintaining themselves at peak efficiency and readiness.

Sailing for Nagasaki the same day, they had to travel several hundred miles against the strength of the great Japan Current. Although the passage was rough, all went well, and the ships arrived at Nagasaki on April 30th, where they awaited the arrival of the rest of the expedition. [Ref. 32:p. 77]

Interestingly, despite naval planning that had been in progress for months, Admiral Rodgers apparently never found it necessary to share the expedition's purpose with its participants. Consequently, orders going out to the squadron's elements bred rampant rumors about what was transpiring. For sailors and soldiers throughout the American fleet this was great for morale. The crews had been training hard for some time, and, with their daily competitive drills with spars, sails, batteries, boats and battalions, rumors only fed their enthusiasm. Lieutenant Commander Schley, the Executive Officer on board the *Benicia*, astutely kept track of all the rumors.

> It was during this winter [1870-71] in Japan that rumors reached the *Benicia* that the affair in Korea relating to the American schooner *General Sherman* was to be inquired into by our Government... Before sailing from the United States there were vague rumors that this matter was to be settled by the [Asiatic] squadron then being prepared for Rear Admiral Rodgers. Their [the rumors] recurrence at Yokohama... led to the belief that there was to be more active service before the year ended. [Ref. 32:pp. 76-78]

The rumors expanded from widespread speculation about even the most minute details.

> Korea was, after all, the objective point. This belief gained strength from the fact that a retrospective glance over the squadron's general orders showed preference for battalion and artillery drills. The prevalent unrest of the Chinese at that time, together with occasional outbreaks, were sufficient to account for these preparations, and, while things did not justify this activity, it may be said that they did serve to mask the real purpose of the

> admiral. No American squadron was ever better prepared to maintain or to vindicate the honor of our country or to protect the interests of its citizens in the Far East. [Ref. 32:p. 79]

These rumors about the purpose of the impending expedition, in turn, encouraged many other rumors. Among them: Korea routinely murdered or cast into prison to die of neglect any poor seamen arriving on her shores; Korea was peopled with warlike tribes of formidable stature and ferocious instincts; in Korean forts were Krupp cannon (the latest in German armament technology); needle-guns were in the hands of all the troops; the Korean people were ferocious giants; Korea abounded in wealth; the strength of the Korean giants was herculean; their ferocity was inferior only to that of tigers; their guns were of the latest type; their marksmanship was unparalleled; their courage was comparable only to that of ancient heroes. [Ref. 32:pp. 80-82]

Of course, no one seemed inclined to explain the basis for these lines of thought, nor did anyone think it necessary to explain how the latest technology could reach Korea without foreigners having access to the "Hermit Kingdom" or the world knowing it. Then again, at this point, it was obvious the love of fabrication far exceeded any desire or necessity to be factual.

This prevailing fear of the unknown, coupled with an enthusiastic belief that Admiral Rodgers was coming to lead them to Korea to exact revenge for the murder of the *General Sherman's* crew was at fever's pitch by the time the *Colorado*, *Palos*, and *Monocacy* finally arrived in Nagasaki. However, as Schley recorded, the flagship's arrival was somewhat disappointing. The presence onboard of

Minister Low, his two secretaries, and two Chinese interpreters forced the more thoughtful members of the crew to accept the fact there was to be only a parley after all. [Ref. 32:pp. 78-79] However, the rumors never really went away.

Fortunately, Low reported to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish on what transpired during the expedition via official diplomatic correspondence. It is obvious from reading this correspondence that Frederick Low made every possible attempt to provide Fish with ongoing objective appraisals of developments. But there were also thoughts going through Low's mind during the expedition that were more private in nature. While such thoughts did not always get reported, many of them did get recorded. These he kept in meticulous detail in his personal diary of the expedition.[6] From the very first day he recorded init everything from ship passings and weather conditions to battle body counts and his personal feelings. Most important of all, his diary revealed the mission's true intentions, specifics of the American-Korean encounters, and his personal perspectives on where things went awry.

Until arriving in Korea, the voyage was fairly uneventful. The *Colorado*, *Palos* and *Monocacy* actually left Shanghai on May 8, 1871, after a three day delay during which the admiral found it necessary to arrange the repairs for another vessel in his fleet -- the

---

[6] The Low Diary is a rare volume of the Buckley Collection at the Knox Library, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California. Both a copy of the original in Low's handwriting and an easier to read transliterated version are included here as appendices. Much of this thesis concerning the Low-Rodgers Expedition draws from this diary. Previously undiscovered, Low's Diary provides new insight into the 1871 expedition.

Ashuelot. As one might expect, Low spent the four days enroute to Nagasaki performing routine diplomatic chores -- writing dispatches, letters, and noting the crew's activities. By the time the *Colorado* anchored in the harbor of Nagasaki at 6:55 a.m., May 12th, the other four ships of the expedition were already there. The purpose of their rendezvous and delay at Nagasaki was to resupply and conduct mission briefings, after which they would continue on to Korea as planned. Once in Korea, Low hoped to establish contact with some local authority who might help him contact the king or someone else sufficiently high up to discuss treaty particulars. Accompanying him were Messrs. Drew and Cowles, his secretaries, and two Chinese interpreters, one of whom was a Russian-Korean to assist in Low's communications with the Koreans.

Low wasted no time reporting to Fish on the expedition's progress. Within a day of anchoring in Nagasaki, Low sent a dispatch to Fish via the American Consul there. Its content and tone must have been perplexing to Fish considering it was sent so early into an expedition which had been so long in the planning. In it, Low was simultaneously optimistic and pessimistic. His optimism was clear from the fact all to date was going smoothly. All the vessels and crew had rendezvoused without incident; the admiral had gathered all possible geographic information, maps and charts about Korea; and Low expressed his confidence in the close cooperation of all involved to make it a successful expedition.

But there was also an undeniably pessimismistic tone present in that first message. He expressed an unmistakable conviction that the Korean authorities would attempt to undermine the mission's success, and he flatly stated that any insults or injuries by the Koreans had to be redressed by force. He was also bothered by the fact he was unable to obtain the desired information about Korea, and alluded to Admiral Rodgers' anxiety about the mission's chances of success. [Ref. 30:p. 115] Receipt of such correspondence from his minister before contact had even been made with Korean authorities must have caused Fish concern. The fact Low did not expand on the root cause of Admiral Rodgers' "anxiety" must have also been unsettling.

But Low and Rodgers both had their reasons. Accompanying the Americans on board the *Colorado* were five Koreans. Apparently in need of assistance, these Koreans had been picked up at sea by the U.S. schooner *Spray*, and then were eventually taken to Shanghai where they were brought to the admiral's attention. As an act of goodwill, he decided to return the Koreans to their country by way of the flagship. However, the Koreans' reaction to this otherwise benevolent act disturbed both Rodgers and Low. The Koreans were alarmed at the prospect of being returned to their country in a foreign ship and were convinced to do so would result in their harsh punishment by Korean authorities. In fact, they were so alarmed, they could not eat. After a soul-searching walk and talk with Low in the hills around Nagasaki, Admiral Rodgers decided, in the best interests of the Koreans and the expedition, that they be discharged in Nagasaki to the care of Japanese officials. [Ref. 34:May 14]

Their stay in Nagasaki (12-16 May) presented Low and Admiral Rodgers with yet another unexpected development which was quite annoying and, along with the many rumors already rampant, may have had the greatest influence on later mistruths about the expedition. On the 15th, Admiral Rodgers had engaged a photographic artist to accompany the expedition and record it for posterity. That act, along with the many rumors about the expedition's intent, brought a tide of American newspaper correspondents clamoring to also win berths on the expedition. However, the admiral and Low refused to allow any newspaper correspondents to go. "One, a correspondent of the *New York Herald*, protested in a letter to the Admiral at our decision, in terms more forcible than polite." [Ref. 34:May 15] Could the reporters' indignation at having been excluded from the expedition, along with the rumors already rampant, have contributed to the expedition being branded "punitive?" Did the snubbed reporters automatically assume their exclusion from the trip equated to an intent to conduct hostile military operations? That is now impossible to know. But the *New York Herald* did cynically report on this "diplomatic" mission as "Our Little War with the Heathen." [Ref. 23:p. 11] In any case, the expedition sailed from Nagasaki on May 16th without any reporters.

As it sailed from Nagasaki, the fleet was an impressive sight. The *Colorado* led the group, flanked behind on the starboard quarter by the *Benicia* and astern by the *Alaska*. They, in turn, were followed and flanked by the *Monocacy* and *Palos*, forming a double echelon. The weather and sea were perfect. [Ref. 34:May 16]

But an air of secrecy still surrounded the expedition. On the day of departure from Nagasaki, the only crewmembers who actually knew the final destination were the ship captains, whom Rodgers briefed the day before. [Ref. 34:May 15] Operations security was very tight; all the other officers on the expedition were uncertain where they were headed. However, that uncertainty vanished once the fleet passed the island of Quelpart (modern day Cheju Island), lying south of the Korean peninsula, then headed northwesterly up the coast. At that point the only thing that remained obscure was the exact place they would anchor. [Ref. 32:p. 80]

The voyage up the Korean coast was not as smooth as the leg between Shanghai and Nagasaki. After the first day of good weather and smooth seas, things got quite rough. Dense fogs, squalls, considerable seas, difficult channels and problem tidal currents all made for slow sailing. In addition to the common bad weather problem of seasickness, the admiral suffered from food poisoning, and the *Monocacy* lost 20 feet of her guardrailing, as well as one boat stove, and had to proceed ahead to the established rendezvous point near Ferrieres Islands in order to effect repairs. Low and his staff busied themselves identifying documents that might be useful in negotiations with the Koreans and translating them into Chinese. [Ref. 34:May 17-19]

By May 20th, the fleet was starting to appreciate the limitations of its maps and charts. Made by vessels venturing near this unknown coast, in some cases years past, the charts accompanying the expedition were almost useless. Other maps, provided by Admiral Roze, the French commander during their 1866 incursions, were not much better. For one thing, the French maps were nothing more than hasty surveys made under near combat conditions. Furthermore, all the placenames and geographical features bore French names. It did not take Admiral

Rodgers long to realize these navigational aids were unreliable. [Ref. 32:p. 81] Consequently, he summoned the commanders of all the ships for new instructions.

For reasons of fleet safety, from this point on the order of sailing was to be reversed, with the smaller ships preceding the larger ones. First would come the *Palos*, followed in turn by the *Monocacy*, *Benicia*, *Alaska*, and the flagship. The treacherous fog and uncharted waters they were now entering required continual soundings and signals between the ships indicating water depth. The strategy worked for almost a day. But the sailing was extremely slow. Eventually the admiral ordered the fleet temporarily anchored while the *Palos* and four small launches set out to ascertain definitely the channel-way and the locations of any dangers lying in it. Hopefully the fleet would be able to avoid any unnecessary misfortune in the uncharted waters. [Ref. 34:May 20-23]

In addition to his naval instructions from Admiral Rodgers, the commanding officer of the surveying vessels, Captain Homer C. Blake, received very specific written diplomatic instructions from Minister Low. In fact, Low had obviously carefully thought about all contingencies. He provided Blake a sealed letter, written in Chinese and addressed to the King of Korea. Low also sent John P. Cowles, Jr., assistant Secretary of the Legation, as interpreter. These measures were just in case Blake's party encountered some Korean officials. Blake was to present the letter to them and request it be forwarded to the Korean King. Of course, that request had to be proffered in just the right way. To do that, he would simultaneously offer to deliver it to the King personally "if that was more convenient." This tactic was thought to diplomatically provide the Koreans a choice of options. Furthermore, to subtly ensure the letter was delivered to the court, Blake was instructed to get the Koreans' acknowledgement, in writing, of their delivery promise and, if possible, get them to name the time and place of delivery. [Ref. 30:p. 118] However, what was to be done if the Koreans questioned or otherwise challenged the Americans presence? Low had also thought about that.

> In conversations with officials, and in reply to the inquiries they will probably make, you are at liberty to say that I am sent by the President of the United States to arrange important matters with the government of Corea, the particulars of which will be fully and frankly made known when a person of suitable rank and station is duly appointed to meet and confer with me. [Ref. 30:p. 118]

Naturally, Low anticipated that the presence of the warships might introduce an element of distrust about the Americans' peaceful purposes. He also had a answer if that came up.

> If they ask why so many ships of war have come on a professedly peaceful errand, you can reply that a minister of my rank does not travel except in a dignified manner befitting his mission, with force sufficient to repel attacks, and chastise all who may molest or insult either the minister or the flag of the country he represents. [Ref. 30:p. 118]

Not only was Low trying to leave very little to chance, he was also making copies of all these instructions for later forwarding to Washington. Was this just part of a cautious character or was he trying to avert being blamed for a failure he suspected was coming?

By now the Koreans knew of the expedition's presence and were discreetly monitoring its activities. In their *Unofficial History*, the Koreans detailed considerable internal communications about the American fleet. [Ref. 19:p. 75]

VI. THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION ARRIVES IN KOREA

While Captain Blake's "mosquito fleet" was out surveying, on May 26th Admiral Rodgers, Minister Low, Captain Nichols and Mr. Pickings landed on Eugenie Island and spent several hours there. Other than some pleasant landscape and flora, the only other thing found worthy of note was a piece of a tobacco pipe, which was of obvious foreign manufacture. Low assumed it had been dropped there by some French officers who had been there on a survey mission in 1867.

Curiously, this landing party encountered no native Koreans, despite the fact there was some evidence Koreans had recently been in the area. Knowing the fleet had been watched and followed by some native observers ever since land was first sighted, Low postulated two reasons to account for their lack of face-to-face contact thus far. First, the locals might could have an innate fear of punishment by the government if caught dealing with foreigners. This would be totally consistent with the behavior he observed by the five Koreans on board the *Colorado* on the way to Nagasaki. From what Low had learned thus far about Korea, this was the hypothesis he probably favored. Secondly, it was possible the Koreans equated the visiting Americans and their heavily armed vessels with the French and their hostile actions of 1866. Whatever the reasons, Low was convinced contact and communication in Korea was going to be very difficult. [Ref. 34:May 24]

A. INITIAL UNOFFICAL CONTACTS

Still, Low was hardly deterred. During the next few days, while the mosquito fleet continued its surveying, he decided to personally attempt some contact with the local population. The first day of overtures met with little success. Taking along Mr. Drew, Lieutenant Commander Wheeler, and the Russian-Korean to do the translating, Low started out in one of the remaining steam launches for a sail near some Korean junks. When the Russian-Korean attempted to hail the Koreans on board the junks, he met with no answer. The second day, however, was more promising. The same group headed for a hamlet on one of the nearby small islands. There, through his Korean interpreter, Low managed to hold a conversation with them on various matters. But they were peasants and really could not provide him with the kind of information he sought.

Just the same, Low considered the encounter worthwhile. For one thing, the locals appeared to be letting their curiosity overcome their fear of foreigners. Perhaps this provided the minister some encouragement that there was indeed some chance for meaningful discussions later. Just as important, he was happy to discover the expedition's Korean interpreter had no trouble communicating with the local Koreans. Prior to this encounter, that had apparently been of some concern to Low. His Russian-Korean was originally from the northeastern part of the kingdom, and no one had been quite sure if his countrymen farther south spoke the same dialect.

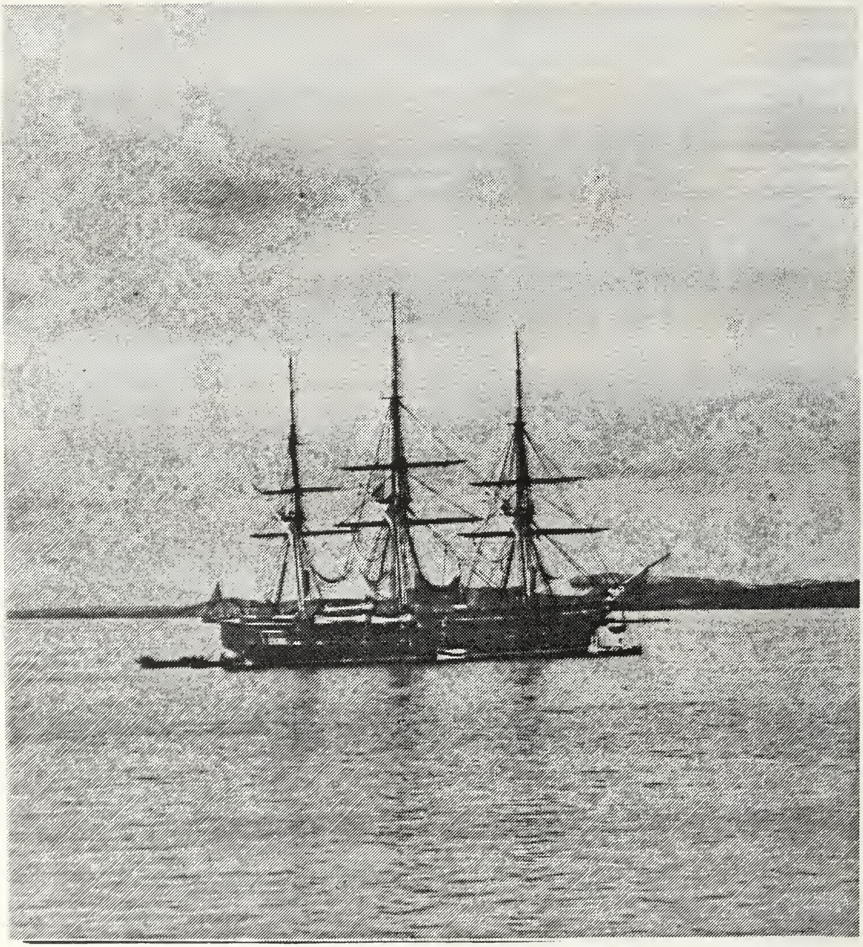
Returning to the *Colorado*, Low met with more encouraging news. Part of the survey party had returned, and the men reported they had met considerable numbers of Koreans, most all of whom appeared friendly. Several notes, written in Chinese, were given to the surveyors, inquiring where they came from, what they were doing in Korea, and when they were leaving. These notes were from the local Prefect of Namyang, named Sin Ch'olgu, and constituted the first formal communications between Minister Low and the Korean government. While such pointed questions seemed natural enough from a people unaccustomed to seeing foreign visitors, there was one encounter, however, with a group of non-friendlies. They tried unsuccessfully to hit one of the survey boats by rolling stones down a hillside. [Ref. 34:May 25-26]

The American diplomat was encouraged by these contacts and did not demonstrate much concern for the stoning incident. The next morning he sent Mr. Drew and his Korean interpreter to the point where the Koreans had given them the notes of inquiry. With them Low sent a memorandum, in the Chinese language, consisting of what he considered a diplomatic response to all the Koreans' questions. In it, Low stated the purpose of the Americans' visit and requested he be permitted to see some Korean officials equal to his own rank. The news Drew brought back after delivering the note appeared even more encouraging, and started Low wondering whether he was actually dealing with some lower officials rather than simple peasants. On shore, Mr. Drew enjoyed a very cordial conversation with the locals, a few of whom expressed a desire to come aboard the flagship. [Ref. 34:May 27] By now, Low's personal intimations carried an entirely more optimistic tone from that previously expressed in his diary and the diplomatic message from Nagasaki.

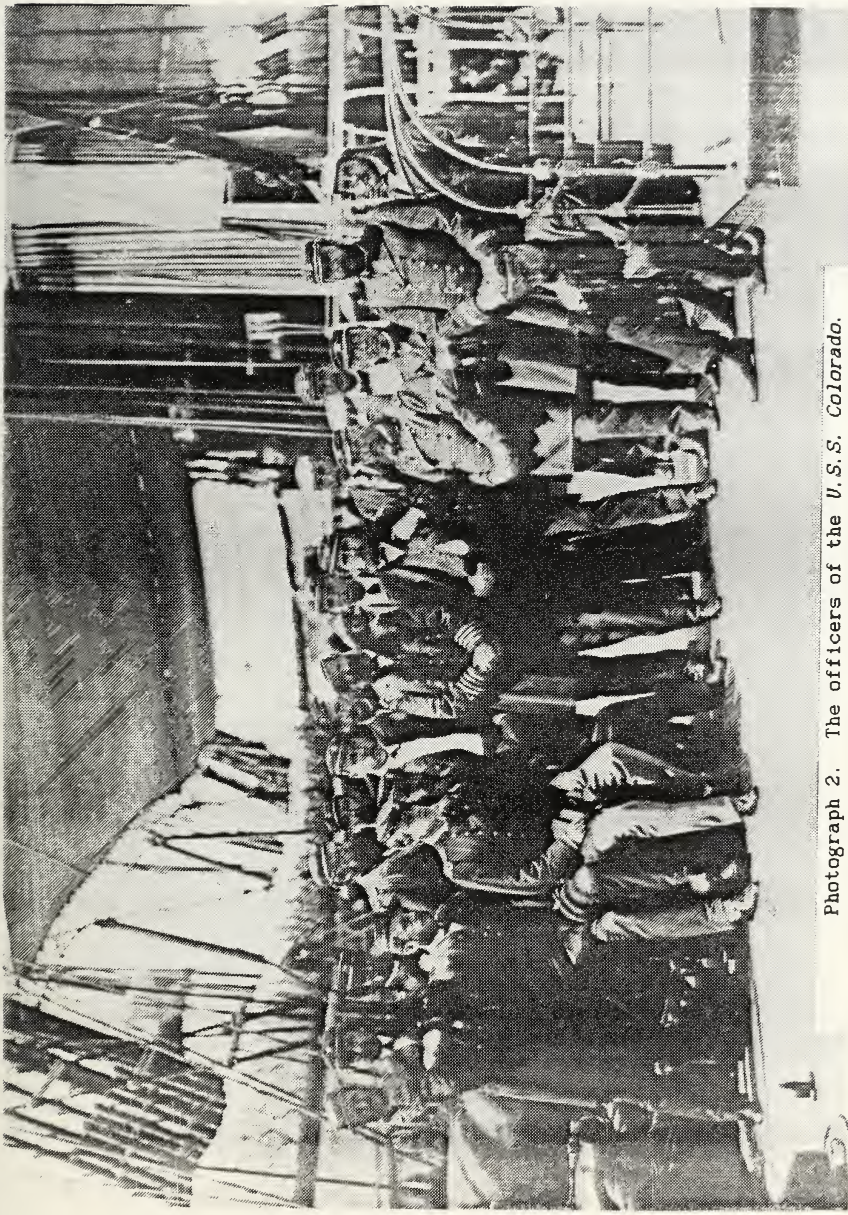
The next day the mosquito fleet returned again with precisely the news Low and Admiral Rodgers were hoping for. The vessels had completed their survey and found plenty of water near the Isle Boisée (the name the French gave Kangwha Island) where the whole squadron could anchor. [Ref. 34:May 28] Furthermore, Mr. John P. Cowles, whom Low directed accompany Blake as interpreter, provided the minister an extensive and informative report on everything he had seen. He told of a sampan ferry between Isle Boisée and the mainland that made as many as twelve trips a day; 200 Korean troops in colorful dress; double-masted junks as large as 80 tons; being watched every step of the way by both troops and curious villagers; the apparent poverty of the people; and more. Curiously, he noted he saw no guns mounted on the walls of the dilapidated fortifications, although it was simply assumed the Koreans must have had gingalls (a large musket fired from a rest) there. Perhaps most significant and encouraging were Cowles' overall impressions of the Koreans' behavior he had seen.

> ... the surprised and excited, but soon pacified, conduct of the islanders points to no special influence or command from the court authorities in this instance, but is rather the carrying out of the traditional habit towards foreigners. It is therefore thought that we shall meet the same surprised conduct in natives till we eventually reach some place where special instructions have been, or shall have been, sent down from court for our either peaceable or hostile reception. [Ref. 30:p. 119]

After struggling for fourteen days against dense fogs, bad weather, considerable seas, difficult channels, and problem tidal currents, they arrived at what seemed a suitable base of operations. Their arrival elicited much the same reaction from the locals as their earlier



Photograph 1. The *U.S.S. Colorado*, the flagship of the Low-Rodgers Expedition, at anchor off Kangwha Island, May 30 - 3 July, 1871.



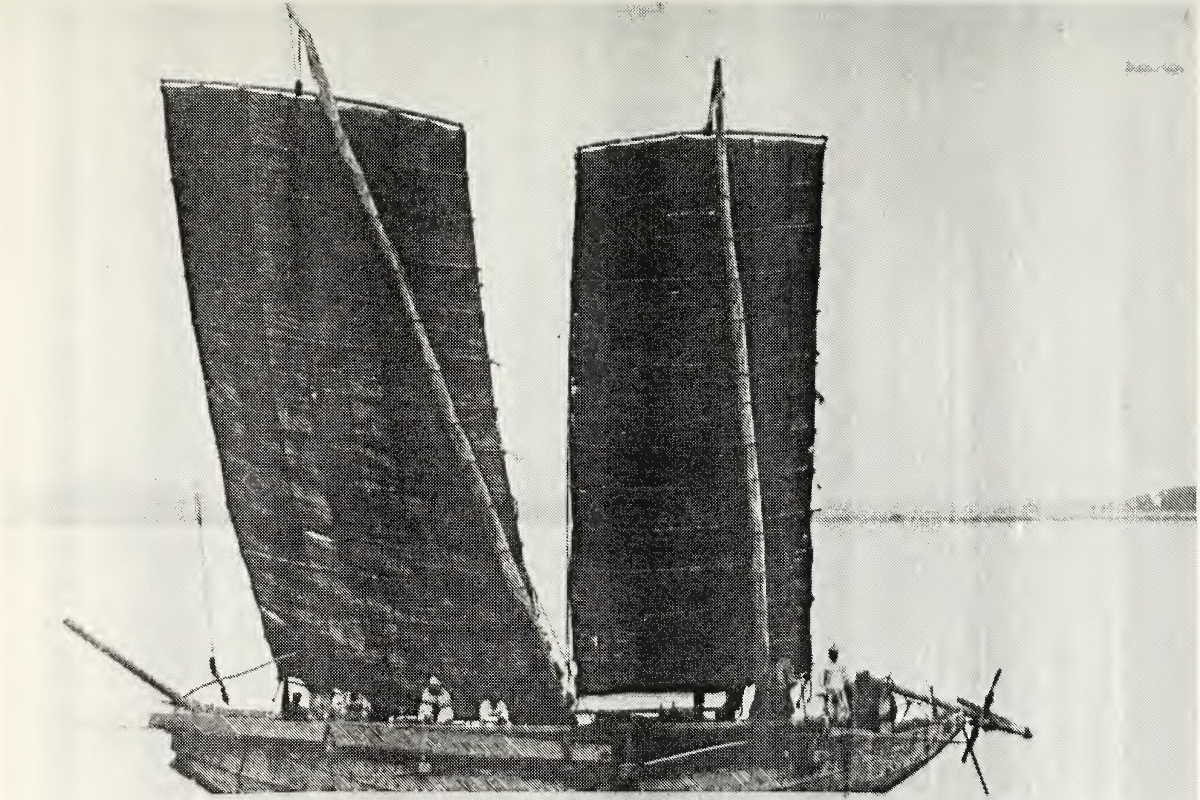
Photograph 2. The officers of the *U.S.S. Colorado.*

appearances downcoast and down river, and only served to confirm Cowles'analysis of their behavior.

> The squadron's arrival was viewed apparently with suspicion by the fishermen. Whenever the steam launches came in the vicinity of these fishing vessels while running their lines of soundings, the latter fled precipitately to the shore. [Ref. 32:p. 81]

But was their reaction actually one of suspicion? More likely it was fear. The Taewon'gun's negative attitudes toward foreigners, particularly Catholics, were well known throughout the kingdom. Perhaps the people simply did not want to be seen with foreigners out of fear they might be wrongly accused of cohorting with them by their own officials. Whatever the case, the people watching the flotilla's approach from a small island west of Kangwha Island acted similarly. "A large number of people could be seen fleeing from the coast towards the country taking many cattle with them." [Ref. 34:May 30]

Still, not everyone was afraid. Shortly after anchoring at Boisée, a junk with four Koreans sailed out to the flagship. One of the men on board the junk stood up waving a letter in his hand and making motions for someone from the *Colorado* to come and get it. Mr. Drew went off in a boat to meet the Koreans, boarded their junk, got the note, and invited the Koreans on board the ship. In contrast to the frightened peasantry, these Koreans appeared unafraid and did not hesitate to accept Drew's offer. On board they talked at length with Drew and Capt Nichols, saying three Korean officials, sent by the government to inquire about the Americans' business in Korea, were waiting at a place nearby. The Koreans bringing the note admitted they were only messengers for the three officials. [Ref. 30:pp. 116-117]



Photograph 3. The Korean junk which ferried Korean officials to the *U.S.S. Colorado*.

B. OFFICIAL CONTACT: MUTUAL MISUNDERSTANDING

The note they delivered confirmed their story. An obvious acknowledgement of Low's earlier memorandum (May 27th), it purported to be from three officials of the 3rd and 5th ranks who had been sent by the King of Korea to meet and confer with Minister Low. [Ref. 34:May 30] Its text set quite an amicable tone:

> A day or two since, on the transmission of your honorable missive from Namyang-bu, the Court for the first time recognized that your honorable ships sent from America to enter our humble confines. Whereupon the officers (who are the writers of this) were sent forward to ask particulars (of your mission). Your vessels lie at anchor out in the sea, and as ours are not used to going to and from in the stormy waves, we remain temporarily on the seashore of Inc'un'bu. We first make this announcement and wait for a few words in reply. [Ref. 19:p. 80]

Despite his earlier protocol decision to be flexible with this relatively unknown culture and government, neither Low nor Admiral Rodgers met with these first Korean visitors. Instead, Admiral Rodgers had some of his officers show the messengers around the ship, regal them with food, wine, and ale, and give them presents. The admiral even put the photographer brought from Nagasaki to work photographing the Koreans. [Ref. 28:p. 22]

Were the Korean "messengers" sensitive to Minister Low's absence? Although Minister Low no doubt thought he was adhering to proper protocol, here was where he may have made his first of many mistakes in Korea. Instead of readily accepting the opportunity to meet with these first Koreans face-to-face, thereby possibly creating some initial trust between the two sides, he may have instead unintentionally rebuffed them. Said Low, "I returned a reply saying that my business would only be made known to a high official. Mr. Drew verbally sent an invitation for the three officials to come." [Ref. 34:30 May]

If that initial rebuff did indeed disappoint the Koreans, they gave the Americans no such indication. At 11:00 a.m. the next morning, May 31st, the three officials who sent the original note came alongside the *Colorado*. However, unimpressed by their appearance and seeming lack of credentials, Low declined to see them. Instead, he had Mr. Drew, Mr. Cowles, and Lt Cmdr Wheeler meet with them. Mr. Drew, again acting as Low's deputy, informed the Koreans that the Americans were there on important business that would be made known only to a Korean official of rank commensurate with that of the U.S. Minister. Furthermore, Low had Drew express his wish that any high ranking official coming before him have written authority from the King of Korea.

All told, the discussions with these first Korean officials were a virtual replay of what transpired the day before. However, unlike their "messengers," these three Korean officials were a bit more persistent in gathering information. Whether they felt Low was intentionally snubbing them is unclear. But there were signs the encounter was becoming a bit strained. When they pressed Mr. Drew to see Minister Low and Admiral Rodgers, Drew brought attention to their low rank and simply told them an audience with Minister Low was impossible. When the Koreans pressed on, stating they had seen the letter Low sent the King from Peking and that the King desired no treaties, Drew dismissed their statements, telling them propriety demanded such discussions wait for a higher official to broach them with Minister Low. [Ref. 34:May 31] After being cordially shown around the ship, the Korean officials departed leaving

Photograph 4. An early Korean visitor to the *U.S.S. Colorado* with the objects of his fascination on board the American vessel -- glass bottles

the Americans with an uneasy feeling -- especially Low. But he could not quite put his finger on the reason for his uneasiness.

No one quite knew how to "read" the Koreans. They did not always appear pleased with the Americans, such as when Low declined to speak with them. But that is understandable. In effect, after inviting them to come out to the ship, Low was now sending men sent by the King with whom he purportedly wished to treat away without seeing them. It hardly seems the right way to make a favorable impression on the Koreans. Certainly the Koreans would think twice about accepting another American invitation.

But the Americans had other important reasons to feel uneasy about what had transpired. As might be expected, yesterday's Korean messengers had already debriefed the officials on what transpired the day before. Consequently, under normal circumstances, Low's latest "snub" probably would have had only a minor affect on what was to follow. But the damage of Low's "snub" was magnified by the Americans' critical ignorance of Korean customs and behavior which eventually helped doom the expedition to failure. At Low's direction, Drew continued to inform the Korean officials that a surveying party would soon be proceeding towards Kangwha. The Korean officials were asked to send word up river [the Han] requesting no one molest the survey vessels lest there be trouble.

Here Low made a critical mistake, although the Americans were not prepared to recognize they were doing so. What stood out was that the Koreans never actually objected to anything the Americans said or proposed. In his report to the Secretary of State, Low described the

Koreans' lack of objections as "tacit assurances." [Ref. 30:p. 117] Yet, intuitively, he obviously was uncomfortable with their silent responses to what might potentially be points of contention. Quite bluntly, Low admitted he placed little confidence in oriental professions of friendliness. "Every effort will be made to avoid trouble, unless forced upon us in a way that cannot be escaped without dishonor." [Ref. 30:p. 117] Low's words now seem more prophetic than even Low might have imagined. From that point on, things deteriorated rapidly.

But how might Low's accepting the Koreans' lack of objections as "tacit assurances" be termed a critical mistake? From an American perspective, Low and Rodgers' rationale for surveying upriver was quite sound. This was apparently as far as the *Colorado*, *Alaska*, and *Benicia* could safely proceed. Only the *Monocacy* and *Palos* were thought small enough to go to Seoul without significant risk, but even they would have to take advantage of the tides and accurate surveying to do so. Furthermore, the Americans paid the Koreans the courtesy of informing them of American intentions. Do need and diplomatic courtesy constitue a mistake? Not really.

But thinking the Koreans' silent response constituted granting the Americans' requests and accepting their assurances of peaceful intent was presumptuous, if not pure cultural ignorance. A cultural feature of Korean behavior and language that has often caused misunderstandings between our two peoples is how Koreans agree and disagree with someone. If they agree with you, they enthusiastically reply "yes." If they wish to acknowledge what you say while reserving their personal opinion and declining to agree, they will still answer with "yes," although it will be noticeably lacking in enthusiasm. What Low and the others did not know in 1871 was that if a Korean responds to a proposal with silence, then he is politely telling you that your proposal is so unacceptable that it does not even warrant a response.

The American's polite notification of the Koreans that armed survey boats would be proceeding upriver is precisely the type of statement the Koreans would respond to with disagreeing silence. Korean law expressly forbid foreign vessels to progress beyond certain "water-gates." It was not a negotiable point. The cultural misunderstanding that took place as a result of that one American request and Korean lack of response marked the beginning of irretrievable mistrust and a focusing on divergent national interests.

That night there was another Korean response they had not seen to date, and its potential significance was not lost on the expedition's war-smart veterans. The Koreans set beacon-fires on every hilltop visible from the anchorage. "It recalled the days of old when the approach of the great Armada of Spain was announced from the hilltops by beacon-fires to the people of old England...." [Ref. 32:p. 81]

C. THE FIREFIGHT: MISUNDERSTANDING TURNS TO CONFLICT

The next day, June 1st, was to prove quite fateful. It began calm and pleasant enough, with Admiral Rodgers organizing another survey expedition to proceed up river beyond Kangwha. This was the survey Low had Drew warn the three Korean officials about when they were on the flag-ship the day before. This new group of survey vessels consisted of the *Monocacy*, under the command of Commander McCrea, the *Palos*, under the command of Lieutenant Commander Rockwell, and the four previous steam launches commanded by Lieutenant Commander Chester, Lieutenants Meade and Totten, and Master Schroeder. The officer in charge of the entire survey expedition was again Captain Blake who commanded from the *Palos*.

As had been his habit from the beginning, Admiral Rodgers went to great lengths to ensure his men understood their mission was a peaceful one. From the day they left Nagasaki, he continually briefed this to his officers. In organizing this latest survey mission, he clearly instructed his men "to proceed in a peaceful manner, avoiding in all ways of giving offense, and making no attack unless attacked by the Coreans." [Ref. 34:June 1]

However, the battle-seasoned admiral was not about to let his men become cannon fodder. If attacked without provocation, they were ordered to return fire and destroy the place and people from whom the attack originated. On the point that force should be met with force, Admiral Rodgers and Minister Low were in full accord. Nevertheless, they also agreed that any such response on the part of the Americans was to be from the vessels only. No landing was to occur. Instead, after responding to hostile fire, the vessels were to quietly continue their survey. The survey's limits were established at a few miles up the Han River toward Seoul, at which point the vessels were to return to the anchorage. If approached by Korean officials, Captain Blake still had the letter Minister Low had given him for the first survey mission, and Mr. Cowles went with Blake as interpreter. [Ref. 30:p. 121]

Although the Korean officials the day before had provided Rodgers and Low what the two men regarded "tacit assurances" the American surveyors were in no danger, the admiral took nothing for granted. He was well aware his French charts showed these vessels would be passing the main Korean forts guarding the waterway to Seoul, and he had too much combat experience to dismiss Captain Blake's opinion that "In ten minutes we shall have a row." [Ref. 28:p. 23]

Departing the anchorage at noon, the survey went about its task peaceably -- at first. As might be expected, the smaller steam launches proceeded in advance of the gunboats. The banks on either side were high and thickly wooded, easily concealing anyone who might be watching them. Here and there they passed an occasional village or rice field, and numerous island forts. Eventually, they approached the lower end of Kangwha Island. There a long line of earthworks and fluttering yellow flags came into view, as well as large numbers of white-clad Korean troops. Through a telescope, John Cowles, the interpreter, translated the Chinese characters on the largest of the yellow banners as indicating a Korean General officer was in command of the Korean forces. [Ref. 28:p. 23]

Unfortunately, two heavily-armed warships accompanied by howitzer-equipped steam launches did not look like peaceful American intentions to the Koreans. Remember, too, the Korean officials visiting the *Colorado* the day before gave what they believed was their unequivocal nonconcurrence concerning this survey. Since 1866 when the French attacked Kangwha Island, these garrisons had had standing orders to attack any foreign vessel proceeding beyond their stations.

Upon rounding a sharp bend on the river, a place the French called Fort du Conde, eighty masked Korean batteries on both sides of the river opened fire on the American vessels. There were some 200 discharges of the Korean cannon, however, their timing was poor and their aim worse. They fired long before the American vessels came into range. [Ref. 32:p. 85] But the Koreans' firing was totally ineffective. Their cannon were of relatively small caliber, limited range and fixed to mounted positions incapable of following a moving target. [Ref. 28:p. 23] They used some heavy guns, but for the most part gingalls, large muskets fired from a stabilizing mount. [Ref. 34:June 1] Immediately, the *Monocacy* and *Palos* returned fire, and quite effectively considering the *Monocacy's* eight-inch shells. Three of the launches (one lagged behind a mile due to a slight accident) joined in with their howitzers. [Ref. 30:p. 124]

But the conditions mitigated the job the Americans wanted to do -- or so they thought at the time. The tide was at its peak, the current swift, the dangers of the channels unknown, and the river too narrow. It was not exactly the kind of situation the Americans wanted themselves in. Suddenly, the Americans found themselves approaching a high bluff on the river, upon which was some type of citadel fortification. Their counter maneuvering before reaching the citadel was a testament to their skills and presence of mind. They all dropped their anchors to swing them around with the head of the vessels facing the incoming tide. [Ref. 32:p. 84] There they leisurely shelled the forts and nearby ravines, where many of the Koreans had already fled. [Ref. 30:p. 124] It was not apparent at the time, but it may have been during this swing-around maneuver that the *Monocacy* was damaged by striking the submerged rock that knocked a hole in her bottom. [Ref. 34:June 1]

The vessels now got under way again and returned to the place where the firefight had orginated. As soon as they were in range, they opened up with heavy fire. [Ref. 32:p. 84] But on this second round, their shells drew no response; the Koreans had already fled. As they drew closer, the Americans noted the Korean cannon and guns. Mr. Cowles described them "nearly as thick together as gun to gun, and gun behind gun on the floor of an ordnance store." [Ref. 30:p. 124]

The whole engagement only lasted about ten minutes. Miraculously, other than the *Monocacy's* collision with the submerged rock, there was practically no damage to the American vessels. Better yet, no Americans were killed, and the only two wounded were slightly so -- one by the recoil of a gun on the *Palos* and the other by a piece of a shell. [Ref. 34:June 1]

The Koreans, however, were not so lucky. In fact, for them the firefight was disastrous. Korean prisoners captured during later operations reported the preliminary fighting killed "not a few" of their countrymen and wounded "many tens" more. The Korean troops were also seen fleeing from their guns and abandoning the fortifications. [Ref. 32:p. 84-85]

Still, Captain McCrea judged the damage to the *Monocacy* too great to continue on with the survey according to instructions. He opted instead to return to the anchorage and report what had taken place. The whole survey expedition returned safely by 5:30 p.m. [Ref. 34:June 1] Most of the men came back as disappointed as they were proud. They would very much have liked to land at the Korean general's deserted fort, "spike" the Korean guns, and bring back the general's flag. [Ref. 30:p. 124]

Meanwhile, reverberation of the firefight could be heard all the way back to the anchorage, and naturally caused a great deal of excitement and anticipation. When Captain Blake returned and informed Admiral Rodgers and Minister Low what had happened, the two men were totally enraged. Admiral Rodgers called together all the men involved in the survey expedition to discuss exactly what happened. At the same time, debate raged among the senior staff concerning what the American response to the Korean attack should be. Admiral Rodgers wanted immediate retribution. So did Minister Low.

D. DIPLOMACY SOURS

Paradoxically, the man who so dutifully argued for and worked for a year to make treaties with Korea was now incensed and advocated sweeping retaliation for the Koreans' attack.

> I gave it as my opinion that although the Navy gained a substantial victory yesterday, it would not do to withdraw without seeking retaliation, for if we did the Coreans would construe our victory as a defeat which would be damaging to the prestige of our Government both here and in China. I advised that, if the Admiral considered his force adequate, that a sufficient number of men... would be able... to land at the point where the vessels were attacked yesterday, and effectually destroy the enemy's works, guns, etc. After that was done the force should move on up taking and destroying all the forts on both sides of the channel as far as the north end of the Island of Kanghwa. [Ref. 34:June 2]

The Admiral, no doubt calling on the calm his combat experience provided him, subdued his immediate outrage and decided to carry out only the first part of Low's suggestion. After that was accomplished, then he would decide upon any further operations. Although he initially opted for the strike to occur the following morning (June 2nd), Captain Blake and Commander McCrea convinced him it was better to postpone the attack until neap (high) tides in about six to eight days. For purely tactical and safety reasons, they wanted their men to be able to take advantage of more favorable tides. The deeper neap tides would allow the landing craft to get closer to shore and help them avoid troublesome rocks on the uncharted Korean shores.

Low had no problem with the delay. In fact, he quite agreed, reasoning the delay would give the Korean government ample time to reconsider its actions, disavow them and apologize for the attack. Low felt that was perhaps the only hope successful negotiations now had. [Ref. 34:June 2]

However, Low's appreciation of the possible advantages of delaying retaliation did not arrest his outrage or his pride. During the two days following the attack, he transmitted his sentiments to the Secretary of State. No doubt conscious of his previously expressed pessimism, Low appeared similarly interested in ensuring he or his lack of enthusiasm could not be blamed for the Koreans' action.

> That the [Korean] attack was unprovoked and wanton, and without the slightest shadow of excuse, must be as apparent to you [Fish] as it is to me; for all our operations hitherto have been conducted with the greatest caution, in the hope that the assurances of our peaceful intentions, which were sent to the court from Peking, supplemented by similar protestations here, and coupled with an absence of all ostentatious show of war, would so fully persuade the government of our good faith that the result aimed at might be accomplished without the use or even the display of force. [Ref. 30:p. 122]

At this point, it became obvious Low had abandoned any hope of negotiating treaties or anything else with the Korean government.

Perhaps now he felt it was time to stop dutifully pursuing another man's groundless dreams and let practicality dictate his course. Whatever Frederick Low's true motivations were, it is plain the previous day's attack provided him ample opportunity to bare his true feelings.

> The events of yesterday convince me that the government of Corea is determined to resist all innovations and intercourse with all the power at its command, without regard to nationality, or the nature of the demands made; and that all overtures will be treated alike, whether they look to the opening of the country and the residence and the trade of foreigners, or whether they are confined, as I have endeavored, to securing humane treatment for our unfortunate countrymen who may be thrown by the perils of the sea upon these shores, whose safety and welfare depend, under present circumstances, upon the magnanimity of this semi-barbarous and hostile race. [Ref. 30:p. 122]

To Low's credit, he was able to look beyond the immediate effect of the Korean attack and impending American response to see some possible long-term consequences. Fully aware of the strains in Sino-European and Sino-American relations, Low feared that America's failure to redress the wrong it had been done yesterday might eventually encourage more anti-foreigner sentiment and action back in China. At the same time, he was painfully aware Admiral Rodgers did not possess a force sufficiently large to compel the Koreans to enter into proper treaty arrangements. Although he suggested to Secretary of State Fish that the Americans could stay until they received additional instructions from President Grant, it was clear Low no longer had any intention of taking the initiative on Korean-American relations. [Ref. 30:pp. 122-123]

From the American perspective, all the above points appear to be well taken. Unfortunately Low's logic also reveals a terrible "tunnel vision" which precluded him from understanding the Koreans' position in this whole affair. As someone who lived with and studied the Koreans for decades, E.M. Cable summed up the Korean perspective nicely.

> The presence of an alien armed force in the vicinity of a fortified and prohibited zone of another country without its permission, and with which the invading force had no treaty of any kind, was in itself, a challenge to war. I maintain that the Koreans who fired upon the American vessels were only doing their duty as soldiers intrusted with the responsibility of guarding their nation's gateway. They only did what soldiers of any civilized nation would have done under similar conditions. [Ref. 19:pp. 86-87]

In addition to executing their responsibilities, there is also some evidence that the Korean soldiers never even received word that the American ships were coming. Following the American ships' return to anchorage after the skirmish, the Korean local authorities immediately dispatched a message to the King by courier, reporting that:

> Two sailing vessels with two masts have suddenly forced their way into Sun-shih Passage. As this is a most important pass leading up into the river, ever since the attack on our troops in 1866, we have increased the guard, and done everything to make it secure: even our own public and private vessels, if they have no river pass, are not allowed to go through that way. How much less, then, can foreign armed men-of-war, which have not yet apprised us of their intentions, be allowed to go rushing about... The forces stationed in the Pass accordingly opened their guns to prevent them going by. [Ref. 35:p. 4]

But neither side appeared interested in understanding the root causes of the altercation. All attention, American and Korean, was now turned toward either preparing for or dealing with the retaliatory attack. On June 3rd, Admiral Rodgers sent the *Palos* to Chefoo for added provisions. He also sent a telegram to the Secretary of the Navy detailing what had transpired thus far and formally asking for an increase in force. [Ref. 34:June 3]

Curiously, at the same time Low also sent an interesting, if not revealing, telegram to Secretary of State Fish. "My overtures of peace have been met by wanton attack upon surveying party. See admiral's telegram to Secretary of Navy. Low." [Ref. 30:p. 124] Despite its brevity, the unnecessary longer routing (through Shanghai) and through whom it was routed (George F. Seward) suggests Low wished to subtly communicate much more than just what was in the text of the telegram. Was this Low's clever way of saying "I told you so?" Was Low already looking around for people on whom he could conveniently blame the expedition's failure?

The Koreans' "unprovoked" attack and the expedition's preparatory delay introduced a whole new set of problems for the two sides. For one thing, it took Admiral Rodgers and Minister Low's attentions away from the real issue that brought the squadron to Korean waters -- treaty negotiations. Now, all their energies were being expended to hypothesize, plan attacks, justify actions taken, and assess blame. All the previous Korean-American contacts and any progress that may have been made previously meant nothing now. Then there was the basic problem of communicating. The Koreans could hardly approach the Americans directly; they were at risk due to the Americans' superior weaponry and outrage at the Korean attack.

The Americans were at similar risk if they tried to approach the Koreans. Another Korean attack on American lives was almost a given. Of course, the greatest damage had been done to the most basic element of any cross-cultural contact -- trust. Any misgivings or suspicions the Americans already had about Korean sincerity were now exacerbated. The Americans felt it was the Koreans' insincere "assurances" that coaxed the survey party into a trap. Conversely, the Koreans felt the

Americans irresponsibly sent their ships into the prohibited zone despite Korean objections. What would it now take to make either side believe the other's future assurances?

Only one of these complicated problems stood any chance of being resolved -- communication. Both sides commenced using what Low referred to as the "post office." It was a stake placed on the beach at nearby Guerriere Island, above the high water line. Each side would attach correspondence to the stake, then leave so it could be retrieved by the other side. The Americans used the stake during the day, the Koreans during the night. While somewhat primitive, this method of communication was remarkably effective considering the hostile circumstances.

Use of this "post-attack post office" was initiated by the Koreans. On June 3rd, the local general guardian of Foo-Ping prefecture sent the Americans a note that Low considered "threatening in its character." But perhaps it was not as threatening as it was philosophical and revealing. By proudly recounting 4,000 years of Korean civilization and emphasizing not only the distance between Korea and the United States, but the two countries' cultural differences as well, the Prefect asked the Americans why they simply could not go away and leave Korea alone. Interestingly enough, he managed to integrate a vague allusion to the *General Sherman* incident into his theme. Basically, he said Commander Febiger had come asking questions about the incident, the Koreans answered his questions, and Febiger went away. Now he was asking these Americans to do the same. [Ref. 30:p. 130-131]

The prefect's allusion to the *General Sherman* was the first time that tragedy had been mentioned during the expedition by either side. In the prefect's note there was a hint that the Koreans believed retaliation, or at least more information gathering, for the *General Sherman* was the whole reason the Americans had returned. Had not the Koreans witnessed a similar French force come to retaliate in 1866? Given the Korean mind's predilection for subtlety, the prefect may well have been trying to tell Low something more than simply Korea prefers to be left alone.

There is good reason to believe that this hint was lost on Low and the other Americans. Granted, the prefect spoke of other things as well. But in his reply to the Koreans, Low made no mention of, nor allusion to, the *General Sherman* and gave no written assurances that it had nothing to do with the Americans' return. Instead, in a manner remarkably similar to the Commodore Perry precedent in Japan, he replied with his own "threatening" note which boasted of American power and perserverance, demanded a Korean apology for the attack on the survey expedition, and set a deadline for a positive, if not accomodating, Korean response. [Ref. 30:p. 131]

From the American perspective, Low felt he was justified in his handling of the affair. He actually believed his firm reply left "a wide door open for negociation [*sic*]." [Ref. 34:June 4] However, in fact, by telling the Koreans they only had "five or six days for peaceful overtures to come, after which the Admiral and myself would feel at liberty to do as we pleased," [Ref. 34:June 4] Low put the Koreans further on the defensive. Thus, the stage for a new battle was set.

Over the next few days, while the Koreans on Kangwha Island busily prepared their fortifications, the Americans continually observed Korean troop movements and reconnoitered the proposed attack area. The Koreans were continuously drilling their troops, signalling each other from the hilltops at night, and they even made a makeshift attempt to cover the road to Seoul. [Ref. 34:June 5] There appeared an almost continual movement of Korean troops over the hills to the forts, causing the Americans to surmise that the troops seen at different times belonged to one and the same body of men whose movements were designed to create an impression of great numbers of defenders. [Ref. 32:p. 87] Interestingly, the Koreans paraded no field artillery. In fact, the Americans could never spot more than three or four pieces of artillery. [Ref. 34:June 5] Such observations lent little credence to the reports heard in Nagasaki and Shanghai of the Koreans' splendid armaments.

Likewise, American preparations were also progressing at a rapid pace. Admiral Rodgers devised a solid plan in which the battalions of the different ships were combined into a formidable combat division under the command of Captain H.C. Blake (see Appendix 3). Rodgers' plan also wisely kept a sufficient force behind on each ship to defend against a possible Korean attack while the main combat division was absent.

Nothing was left undone. The ships' mess facilities cooked rations to last at least several days, and ammunition for all the weapons was carefully packed for transportation on land. Boat assignments were made for landing the division, and combat orders issued. [Ref. 32:p. 86] Daily the men were assembled on the decks in martial uniform to go through various battalion drills. Low watched all this and could not help but both admire and worry about the men he saw.

> Battalion drill was gone through with which did great credit to both officers and men. Sailors are brave, the only drawback when they are landed to take the part of soldiers being that it is hard to hold them back and make them act together. Their bravery and recklessness is the weakest spot in their characters. [Ref. 34:June 6]

Perhaps seeing such enthusiasm on the part of naval personnel made Low take some action on his own. Noting a number of Koreans assembling on the beach each day, he sent Mr. Drew and the Russian-Korean to talk to these people. His intent was not to gather information, but rather impress upon them that American intentions were not hostile. He wished only to convince the commoners that Americans were quite peaceful if treated civilly. Perhaps these people could then, in turn, talk to their local government representatives and convince them. But that was a fruitless effort. Most simply refused conversation with Drew and his companion. Those who did talk with the Americans begged them to go away, stating the Americans' presence stopped all fishing and labor and hindered the poor from obtaining their daily food [Ref. 34:June 6].

Then on June 7th, the Koreans made direct contact with the fleet for the first time since their attack on the survey party June 1st. At nine that morning a junk appeared near the flagship. It was towed alongside, and a messenger came on board with presents to Minister Low from Cheng, the Guardian of Kangwha Prefecture and Ex Officio Governor and General. The gifts consisted of some poultry and livestock (three bullocks, 50 chickens, and 1,000 eggs). The messenger also delivered to the Americans two letters. [Ref. 34:June 7]

One was a copy of a letter from the King of Korea to the Board of Rites in Peking, referencing Low's letter of March 7th, sent to the King through the board. Low had apparently left on this mission before it could be delivered to him. Had Low read it before the expedition left Shanghai, it is likely he would have cancelled the trip. For one thing, it reiterated and expanded upon past communications about the *General Sherman*, including how the vessel's crew had brought their misfortune on themselves and how the Korean authorities and people had gone out of their way to act civilly toward those who came inquirying (Shufelt and Febiger).

The King also explicitly stated that two key policies of Korea made Low's mission there useless. One of these concerned Korea's hardfast policy to rescue and forward home shipwrecked crews. From the King's perspective, this must have been an issue that counted heavily in his argument. Korean regulations in regard to shipwrecked foreign vessels were very generous. Any foreign vessel in distress was to be aided, and assistance given in making repairs necessary for departure. It was also formal government policy that shipwrecked crews were to be fed and clothed and sent home. There was even a government office, called Hong-che-won, specifically responsible to see to it that the relief of shipwrecked mariners was properly conducted. The existence of this policy was well supported by numerous examples of crewmen who had been well taken care of and sent overland to China for return to their own countries [Ref. 36:p. 66]. Because all this was provided for by existing laws, it was unnecessary to make a fixed arrangement between the two governments. The other policy was on the issue of trade. On this the King stated his policy in terms the Americans should have been able to understand. Korea was tired of being repeatedly pestered with applications for commercial trade. It was an issue Korea considered "entirely out of the question." [Ref. 30:pp. 133-135] Unfortunately, too much had now occurred to base any action on the King's old correspondence.

At this point, any change of plan depended solely on how Low and Rodgers might respond to the contents of the second letter, which was from Cheng, the same high official who sent the presents. Cheng obviously wished to bridge the schism between the two countries caused by the attack on the survey vessels. However, he felt it equally important that the Americans appreciate the Korean position.

> The barriers of defense of a country are important places, within which it is not allowable for foreign vessels to make their way [without some previous understanding]. This is the fixed rule of all nations. Hence it was the ascent [of the river] to the sea-gate by your vessels the other day that brought on the engagement between us, which, as you say that your intentions in coming [to this country] are good, it is much to be regretted should have occurred. On the arrival of your vessels, the court warned the civil and military authorities along the coast to avoid most carefully anything which should cause trouble or arouse ill-feeling, yet when your honorable vessels, not considering the fixed regulation of another country, penetrated its important pass, how could the officers, appointed to guard [the closed portals of] the frontier, whose duty it is to take measure of defense, calmly let it go by as of no consequence? Pray do not then be offended at what occurred. [Ref. 30:p. 132]

The Ex Officio Governor and General went on to explain, as did the King in his letter, that the non-intercourse of Korea with foreign nations is a principle without exception, and one which has been adhered to for more than five centuries. "We cannot dicuss and cannot settle that which the honorable envoy desires to discuss and to settle, whatever it may be. Why do you then wait for a high official to meet you?" [Ref. 30:p. 132]

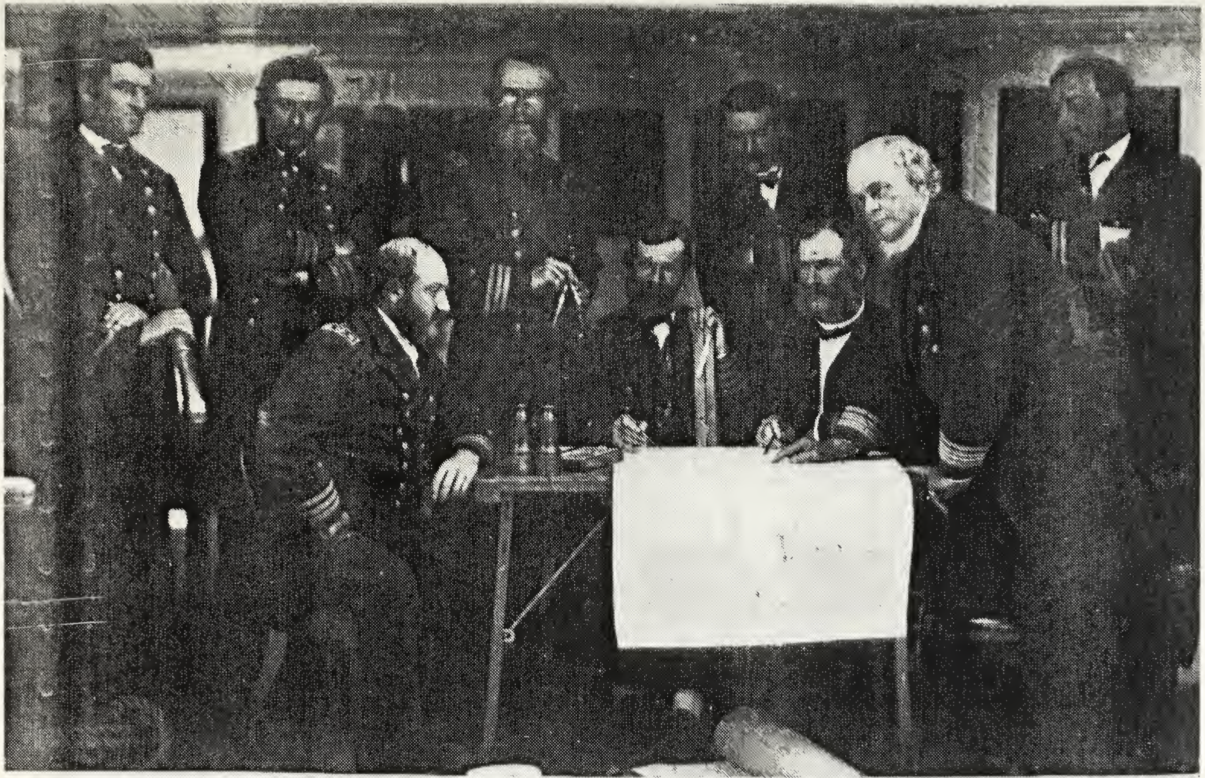
From the Korean perspective, Cheng was making a peace overture. He sent his men out to the ships offering gifts of poultry and livestock. In his letter, he apologetically explained it was immutable national policy to fire on boats progressing too far up the Han River, just as it was also established policy not to have intercourse, diplomatic, commercial or otherwise, with foreigners. While he regretted the attack occurred, he still wanted Low to understand why it occurred and why it was unavoidable. Culturally speaking, this was what, in fact, amounted to a Korean apology. Were it not so, then such a high official as Cheng, an Ex Officio general and governor, would never have gotten involved, and he certainly would not have gone to the trouble of ferrying livestock out to the fleet, procuring a copy of royal correspondence, and so diplomatically explaining the incongruities of Korean policies and American intentions.

The American response revealed not only how divergent U.S. and Korean positions on the issues were, but also just how bullheaded the Americans could be. The Americans' emotional outrage that the attack occurred was quite impervious to Korean explanations of deep-rooted duty and unchangeable policies. Likewise, they knew too little about Koreans and their behavior to recognize the face-saving subtleties of a Korean apology. Consequently, "Rodgers angrily denounced the governor's message as 'insulting.'" [Ref. 31:p. 72] Low, too, chose to interpret Cheng's statement as a formal government approval of the Korean attack and a warning that there will be a similar result if any other attempts are made. [Ref. 30:p. 128]

By their subsequent refusal of Cheng's gifts and an ultimatum that just three or four days yet remained to conduct peaceful negotiations, Low and Rodgers did more than miss an opportunity to understand the Koreans and avoid conflict. They insulted the Koreans and put an end to the possibility of any peaceful resolution of the existing dilemma.

Not surprisingly, the remaining time before the American action on Kangwha Island passed without any more communications between the two sides. Preparations on board the ships were now frantic. Admiral Rodgers was busy finalizing his plan of attack and anxiously awaiting the return of the *Palos* from its supply run to Chefoo. It returned the evening of June 8th with fresh provisions for the fleet, as planned. [Ref. 34:June 8]

On June 9th, Admiral Rodgers' plan was set, and he issued the appropriate orders. The objective of the incursion was simple -- to take and destroy the forts which had fired on the American survey vessels, and to hold them long enough to demonstrate the Americans' ability to punish such Korean offenses "at pleasure." To accomplish this, the attacking force was to consist of the corvettes *Monocacy* and *Palos*, the four armed steam-launches, and 20 armed launches and boats to convey the men. The landing force of 651 men were to be conveyed to the combat area by the corvettes, then ferried to land by the boats and armed launches. The landing force was arranged into ten companies of infantry and seven pieces of artillery. Another 105 men



Photograph 5. Rear Admiral John Rodgers (second from the right) with his commanders and key officers planning the Americans' battle strategy for the confrontations June 10 - 11, 1871.

would be standing by supporting them on the vessels involved, making the total number of men taking part in the operation 759. [Ref. 19:p. 91]

Once at the selected anchorage point, the vessels were to shell the forts thereby drawing out the Korean soldiers occupying them. After the enemy was driven out of the fortifications, then the boats were to make the landing, covered and supported by the armed launches. Rodgers intended for the force to withdraw in approximately 22 hours. But his own combat experience prevented him from indiscriminately restraining his men to that timeframe. If they thought they could hold a given position indefinitely or if holding it gave them some unanticipated advantage, then he was prepared to allow them this discretion. All they had to do was communicate their desires to him via steam launch. [Ref. 30:p. 135]

But there was a new problem on the eve of battle. The passion of their original indignation at being attacked by the Koreans had to a large extent subsided, and there were definite signs of discord among the Americans. The fighting on June 1st was spontaneous. Danger was upon them, and there was only time to react and be courageous. But after a week or so, emotion was not so high. Sundry activities like letter writing turned men's thoughts to such things as family and purpose and doubt. Low also admitted having second thoughts.

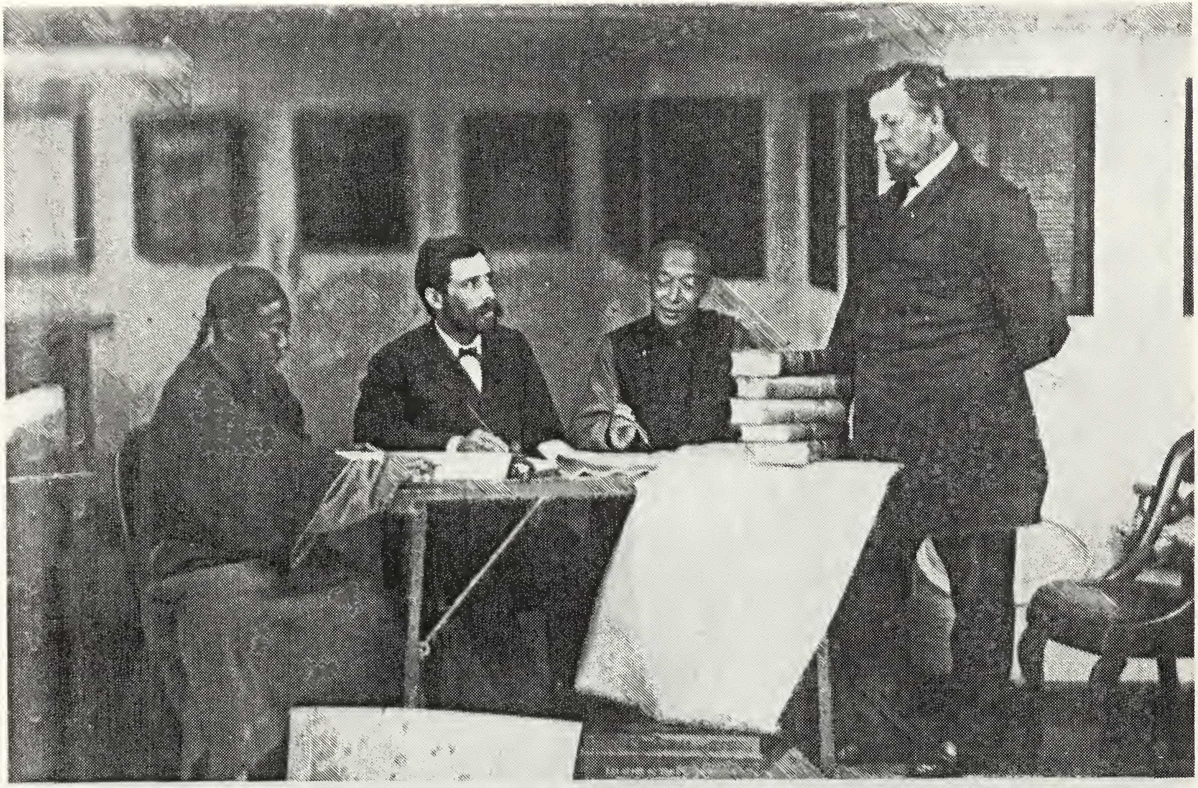
> As the time draws near to start [the attack] I observe a change in tone and appearance of most of the officers. They are not as eager to go as they were the day after the last fight. Time has been given for reflection, and their passions have cooled. They have counted the possible loss and gain, and I fancy the latter is not likely to prove much in any event... They undoubtedly say to themselves and to one another what are we risking our lives for? Is Corea worth a single life? [Ref. 34:June 9]

No doubt Admiral Rodgers, with his extensive war experience, had seen this happen many times before. Apparently, he had also dealt with it. He shared his professional commitment with his senior officers and expected them to share same with their men.

> The only object sought by the expedition to this country is to make such a treaty as the minister has been instructed by the [U.S.] Government to secure, if he may; and you will therefore take advantage of any overtures which may be made toward peace, if they shall seem to you to offer a reasonable opportunity of attaining the ends which the Government has in view.... [Ref. 30:p. 135]

In this respect, the admiral and the minister were again in accord. In his instructions to Mr. Drew to accompany Captain Blake as his interpreter, Low told Drew:

> As the object of my visit to Corea is to open negotiations with a view to making a treaty, this fact should be kept prominently in view; and the admiral has so instructed Captain Blake. The naval forces are simply a means to an end. [Ref. 30:p. 136]



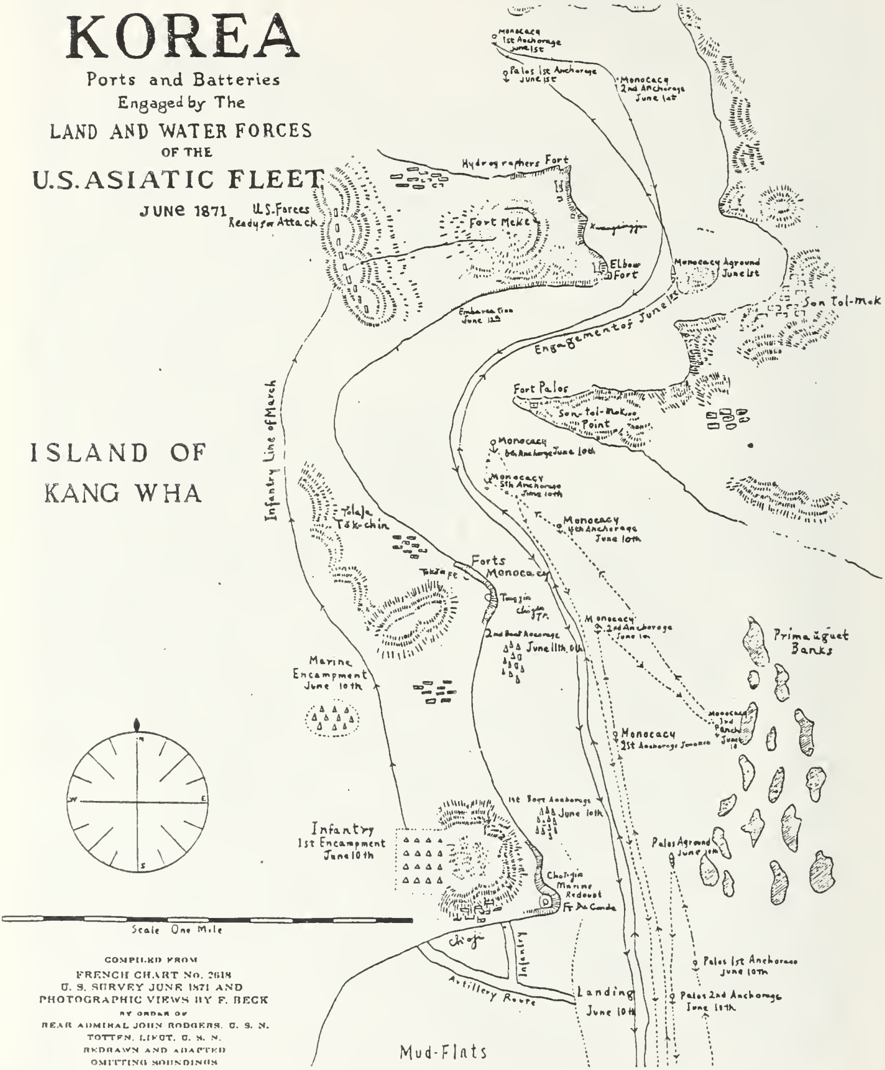
Photograph 6. U.S. Minister Frederick Ferdinand Low (standing) dictating official correspondence to one of his aides and his Chinese interpreters.

VII. THE BATTLE

A. DAY ONE

Saturday, June 10th, the day set for the landing, finally came. Early that morning the boats were lowered from the ships and the battlion equipped. After breakfast, at about 9:30 a.m., everyone took their positions for the mission to begin. The *Monocacy*, the *Palos*, and the four steam launches started out soon after 10:00 a.m. The late morning departure was designed to enable the landing party to reach its destination soon after the tide began to ebb, and thus facilitate a safe landing. [Ref. 34:June 10] The *Palos* was towing twenty longboats packed with the landing party, weapons (Remington breech-loading carbines and howitzers), and other miscellaneous supplies. In addition to its normal armament, on the *Monocacy* were also mounted two nine-inch guns from the *Colorado* to increase the effect of its pre-landing bombardment of the forts. [Ref. 28:p. 72]

Advance up the river was led by the *Monocacy*, which was flanked by a steam-launch on each bow. The *Palos* followed with its caravan in tow. Upon nearing Primanguet Island, the landing expedition was approached and hailed by a Korean junk carrying a white flag. One of the American officers in one of the steam-launches received a letter from the junk and delivered it to Mr. Drew. It was another letter from Cheng. As far as the landing expedition was concerned, the letter contained nothing to impede their progress.


KOREA
Ports and Batteries
Engaged by The
LAND AND WATER FORCES
OF THE
U.S. ASIATIC FLEET
JUNE 1871
U.S. Forces Ready for Attack
Monocacy 1st Anchorage June 1st
Palos 1st Anchorage June 1st
Monocacy 2nd Anchorage June 1st
Hydrographers Fort
Fort Meke
Elbow Fort
Monocacy Aground June 1st
Son Tol-mok
Embarcation June 12
Engagement of June 1st
Fort Palos
Son-tol-mok Point
Monocacy 6th Anchorage June 10th
Monocacy 5th Anchorage June 10th
Monocacy 4th Anchorage June 10th
Infantry Line of March
ISLAND OF
KANG WHA
Tolaje
Tŏk-chin
Forts Monocacy
Tongjin
Chigin
2nd Boat Anchorage
June 11th
Monocacy 2nd Anchorage June 10
Primauguet Banks
Marine Encampment June 10th
Monocacy 1st Anchorage June 10
Monocacy 3rd Anch. June 10
N
W
E
S
Infantry 1st Encampment June 10th
1st Boat Anchorage June 10th
Palos Aground June 10th
Chojigin Marine Redoubt
Ft Du Conde
Scale One Mile
Chojin
Infantry
Artillery Route
Landing June 10th
Palos 1st Anchorage June 10th
Palos 2nd Anchorage June 10th
Mud-Flats
COMPILED FROM
FRENCH CHART No. 2618
U. S. SURVEY JUNE 1871 AND
PHOTOGRAPHIC VIEWS BY F. BECK
BY ORDER OF
REAR ADMIRAL JOHN RODGERS. U. S. N.
TOTTEN. LIEUT. U. S. N.
REDRAWN AND ADAPTED
OMITTING SOUNDINGS

Map 1. Kangwha Island, Korea, where the Low-Rodgers Expedition engaged Korean forts and forces June 10-11, 1871 [Ref. 32:p. 89].

Basically, it merely reiterated the issues Cheng had already spelled out, and he rejected any blame for what had thus far transpired.

There was, however, one very interesting statement in his letter that, though totally unrelated to the impending U.S.-Korean fighting, was quite worthy of comment: "... the violent and lawless Ch'oe Nanhyon (Rev. R. J. Thomas) who came in her [the *General Sherman*], himself brought on the destruction that occurred. It was not our people who maliciously commenced it." [Ref. 19:p. 92] This mention of Thomas was the Koreans' first detailed information of the actual circumstances surrounding the destruction of the *General Sherman*. Offered at another time under other circumstances, the Americans may have been able to insightfully pursue that information and reach some valuable understanding of the Korean perspective. Unfortunately, passions were too high; they were on their way to a battle and did not have time to contemplate such things.

No sooner had the *Monocacy* rounded a point and disappeared from the flagship's view than she opened fire on the lower forts. [Ref. 34:June 10] The initial bombardment lasted for almost two hours. Most of the Korean garrison quickly fled, and when the shelling finally ceased around three o'clock, the landing party made a dash for the beach. All went well except a portion of the battalion was landed on a mud flat below the lower fort, impeding their progress considerably. Their howitzers sunk in the mud to the hubs, and even the infantry found it difficult to move. [Ref. 19:p. 93] The few Koreans remaining behind after the bombardment initially took advantage of the Americans' who were easy targets while they were bogged down in knee deep mud.

But the *Monocacy* did a superb job of protecting the marines by providing artillery cover. [Ref. 35:p. 11] Consequently, the Koreans could not sustain their attack on the mud-bound marines for long. Watching the Americans continue to advance and eventually gain solid ground, the Koreans hastily abandoned their stations and disappeared into the surrounding woods. The Americans quickly took possession of this lower fort, which the French had named Fort Du Conde, secured it, and reconnoitered the surrounding area. [Ref. 32:pp. 89-90] Once the fort was secured, they efficiently destroyed everything of military use, rolling the guns into the river and destroying the Koreans' military supplies. [Ref. 19:p. 93]

Meanwhile, the *Monocacy* continued upstream to bombard the middle fort. In contrast to the action downstream, this time the Koreans responded with their artillery. But their aim had not much improved since their first clash with the Americans on June 1st. Damage to the American vessels was minimal, and the *Monocacy* continued pounding the fort until nightfall. The *Palos*, which had been dutifully following the *Monocacy* to provide it any necessary support, suffered a fate similar to that of its sister ship on June 1st; it ran aground on an unseen rock. Not until the following day did she manage to free herself, gashing a whole in her hull and taking water in the process. [Ref. 28:p. 72]

By nightfall, the battalion at the lower fort was already in bivouac. Artillery had been posted in positions capable of sweeping all possible approaches to the camp. The flanks were protected by the *Monocacy* and *Palos*. By now the Americans knew better than to underestimate their foe. They were quite prepared to give a "warm reception" to any Korean night attack. [Ref. 32:p. 90]

While no attack ever came, around midnight there were some anxious moments. Marine Captain Tilton, commanding Company I, reported that shots were being exchanged, and that enemy troops were forming in the woods opposite his front. Hundreds of Korean troops approached the camp howling, beating drums, and firing some rounds. Thinking this may indicate some sort of assault, the Marines answered the ruckus with some artillery shells. This quieted them quite quickly. Apparently convinced they had no chance of success, the Koreans did not return that night. [Ref. 28:p. 72 and Ref. 32:p. 90]

Kimberly, commander of the land forces, took advantage of the episode to call a midnight council of war. A consensus was reached on a number of points. First, any future battalion operations must be swift. Any unnecessary delays might result in unnecessary losses. Secondly, any subsequent fighting with the enemy should be to the finish. Any advantages incurred should be pursued relentlessly, and no rest was to be given to the enemy. The enemy's retreat was to be the battalion's pursuit. [Ref. 32:pp. 90-91] Commander Kimberly closed the war council with these memorable words: "We will fight to a finish. It is to be a war upon the foe after the most approved modern methods and to spare nothing that can be reached by shot, shell, fire, or sword." [Ref. 19:pp. 93-94] The doubts and questions plaguing the Americans the previous night had vanished.

Meanwhile, back at the anchorage there was anxious concern. No word of events on shore had come to the flagship. There were also some anxious moments. In the evening a Korean junk came alongside the *Colorado*. Was it some sort of assault force or diversionary tactic? Were the Koreans suing for peace? The Americans could not be sure.

Cowles eventually went on board to investigate and found ten Koreans who said they were Catholics looking for three French priests whom they had been expecting. Hearing that a foreign fleet had arrived, they presumed the priests took advantage of the opportunity and came along. They came to determine whether any priests were on board, and, if so, to put the junk at their service to take them anywhere they chose. After some extensive questioning, Cowles was satisfied they were telling the truth. He invited them on the ship where the Americans planned question them further the next day. [Ref. 34:June 10]

The appearance of the Korean Catholics and the sincerity of their story was somewhat of a morale boost for the Americans and renewed their faith in the expedition's purpose. Viewed with suspicion when they first arrived, quickly the Americans came to have great respect for these Christians. Low, in particularly, was profoundly impressed with the zeal and religious enthusiasm which had moved these peasants to run such risks. Surely the fleet was being watched, and to be seen approaching it in peace while their countrymen were locked in combat with the American landing force would certainly result in death upon their return. Low was equally impressed with the power the Roman church was thus able to exercise over what he considered such an alien and ignorant people. [Ref. 30:pp. 124-125]

While the Korean Catholics quite openly talked with the Americans about anything, the only reliable information they were able to provide was what they had personally observed. In that regard, they gave the Americans little help regarding the current fighting.

From a much larger perspective, however, Low deemed them invaluable. First, he considered them a relatively accurate barometer of the great discontent among the general populace which he blamed on the "tyrannical conduct" of the government and local authorities. They reinforced Low's suspicions that the only law in Korea was the will of the officials, and told him summary executions were the universal penalty for violating an official's will. Low concluded that perhaps a majority of the Korean people desired overthrow of their government and would join any movement foreign nations might make to accomplish it. The Korean Catholics also provided the Americans valuable information about the principal cities and their relative importance. [Ref. 30:pp. 124-125]

But Low felt the most important information the evening visitors provided concerned the *General Sherman*. One of the Catholics affirmed he lived near the scene of the incident and was perfectly familiar with the whole episode. Low was convinced what the Korean Catholic told him was true.

> He says the people on board the schooner were enticed on shore by fair promises of civil treatment and trade, were entertained and treated to drugged spirit, during which they were fallen upon suddenly, seized and bound and all massacred. Some were beheaded, and the others were beaten to death with clubs. The cargo was taken out, and the vessel burned to get the iron used in her construction. They further say that the cannon found on board were taken out and sent to the capital, from which patterns were made and guns manufactured. This story was told in a plain straightforward manner

> without undue questioning. On the contrary, the interpreter endeavored to obtain a voluntary statement of the *General Sherman*affair, in order to test the good faith and truthfulness of these people. It corresponds so nearly with the account given by the French priests at the time, that I consider it more entitled to credence that the report of the officials made to the commander of the *Shenandoah* or that to the Board of Rites, Peking. [Ref. 30:p. 125]

What made Low believe this story? The fact that it was told him in a straight face? Had he not already found the Korean Catholics' statements could not be relied upon unless they had firsthand knowledge on the subject? Did residing near the *General Sherman* incident mean the man saw it happen, or simply that someone else -- perhaps a French Priest -- told him about it? That would certainly account for the congruency of their stories. What might explain his change of residence? Could the Korean Catholic's negative feelings toward the anti-Catholic Taewon'gun and his anxiousness to escape the religious persecution have motivated him to tell the Americans distorted version of the *General Sherman* incident? Then again, did the immediate circumstances and Low's personal attitude toward the Koreans at that time impair him from objectively determining the credibility of the Catholics' story about the *General Sherman*? Was it unreasonable to assume the visitors would tell the foreigners anything they seemed receptive to listen to? Why did Low not recognize the obvious incongruencies between the Koreans' stated deceptive approach toward the *General Sherman* and what he personally knew of their approach with this fleet? Could the Koreans not have tried the same tactic? If they had copied the *General Sherman's* guns, why were the guns now firing on the Americans at Korea's most important water-gate so antiquated? More than a century after the fact, these questions are impossible to resolve. Whatever the case, Low believed their story because he had his own reasons to support its validity [Ref. 30:pp. 125] Between the visitors and the fighting, no doubt he retired for the night with a great deal on his mind.

B. DAY TWO

On Sunday, June 11, the second day of the incursion, the Americans met with great success. When the *Monocacy* resumed its shelling at dawn, the sound of its great guns could be heard all the way back to the *Colorado*. Meanwhile the battalion started marching down the road in back of the fort. As a precautionary measure, a small detachment of men were detailed into the bordering woods to guard the main force's left flank against surprise attack. The roads followed were narrow and muddy. By 6:30 a.m., the battalion reached the second fort, which they fondly named Fort Monocacy. It had already been shelled by its namesake, and the enemy had already fled without firing a shot.

Apparently, the ship's bombardment caught the Koreans by complete surprise; their morning breakfast was still boiling in the stew-pots. [Ref. 32:p. 91] Their surprise was confirmed by what else the Americans found left behind -- sixty loaded cannons, all brass breechloaders with two-inch bores. Kimberly detailed some men to dismount the guns and roll them into the river. [Ref. 28:pp. 72-73]

The Americans also set fire to all the fort's buildings that they judged might be used for military purposes. Regrettably, that fire spread to and destroyed an entire village north of the fort [Ref. 32:p.

91]. While this was an unintentional development, it certainly did not facilitate the reconciliation Low hoped might come after the fighting. Nor did it enhance the American image in subsequent Korean histories.

Their job finished at the middle fort, Kimberly's men headed straight for the main fort, *Fort du Conde*. The Americans nicknamed it "the Citadel," and it was by far more formidable than the forts already taken. It sat high above the river where the channel elbowed several miles away, with 143 mounted guns. It was garrisoned by the elite of the Korean army -- the "Tiger Hunters," men whom were all sworn to fight to the death. The huge yellow "General Commanding" banner flapped in the wind. [Ref. 28:p. 73]

The march to the Citadel was as formidable as anything the landing force had yet faced. The undergrowth along the way was dense, and several time they had to halt while the pioneering division cut down bushes to widen the trail or perform other necessary work. They also had to transverse steep hills, ravines, and wide marsh areas. The weather was intensely hot, with a burning sun. Several fainted or became ill from the heat and exhaustion. [Ref. 32:p. 91]

By the time Kimberly and his men neared the Citadel, the *Monocacy* had already been shelling the fort for hours. Now, by prearranged signals, the gunship was also in a position to provide other cover and support for the battalion as it advanced. However, in order to get those signals to the ship, Kimberly had to take a nearby hilltop position on which the Koreans were already entrenched. It was no problem. Lieutenant Commander Silas Casey and his force, after some skirmishing and the aid of some howitzer rounds, seized the hill position. This proved as much a morale boost as it was a tactical coup.

> From this position, which overlooked the entire field of operations, the military advantages were evident at a glance. [The Koreans'] blunder was hailed as an indication that there was lack of strategy among their officers. How much that encouraged the attacking [American] column can be judged better from the advantage which was taken in the movement made immediately against the upper forts along the river, where the other half of the Korean army had been placed. [Ref. 32:p. 92]

In other words, seizing this hill cut the Korean army in half. The thousands of Korean troops who might have easily reinforced the "Tiger Hunters" inside the Citadel now faced American howitzers should they decide to reclaim the hill.

It was a blunder not lost on the Koreans. No sooner were the American guns in place than the Koreans massed their forces and charged the hill. But the American howitzers shattered the charging Koreans. Realizing the howitzers made it impossible for them to mount any effective attack, the Koreans withdrew and left a clear field.

Moving the rest of his men into this position, Kimberly ordered Lieutenant Commander W.K. Wheeler to hold the hill at all costs. Entrenchments were also erected on the hill, later proven a wise move when Koreans attempted two assaults later in the day. With Wheeler's men positioned to defend the hill, the remainder were free to assault the Citadel. In preparation, Kimberly set up a temporary headquarters on a prominent ridge between his divisions. From there he could easy observe all his forces' movements. Kimberly also had the forethought to order Lieutenant Commander Winfield Scott Schley to both lead the actual assault and take Kimberly's command if he became a casualty.

By 12:35 p.m. the Americans were busy making final preparations. Canteens and cartridge boxes were filled, bayonets fixed, and perhaps some prayers said. The Artillery Division commander, Lieutenant Commander Douglass Cassell quickly seized one last knoll commanding the road into the Citadel, and all was ready. [Ref. 32:pp. 92-93]

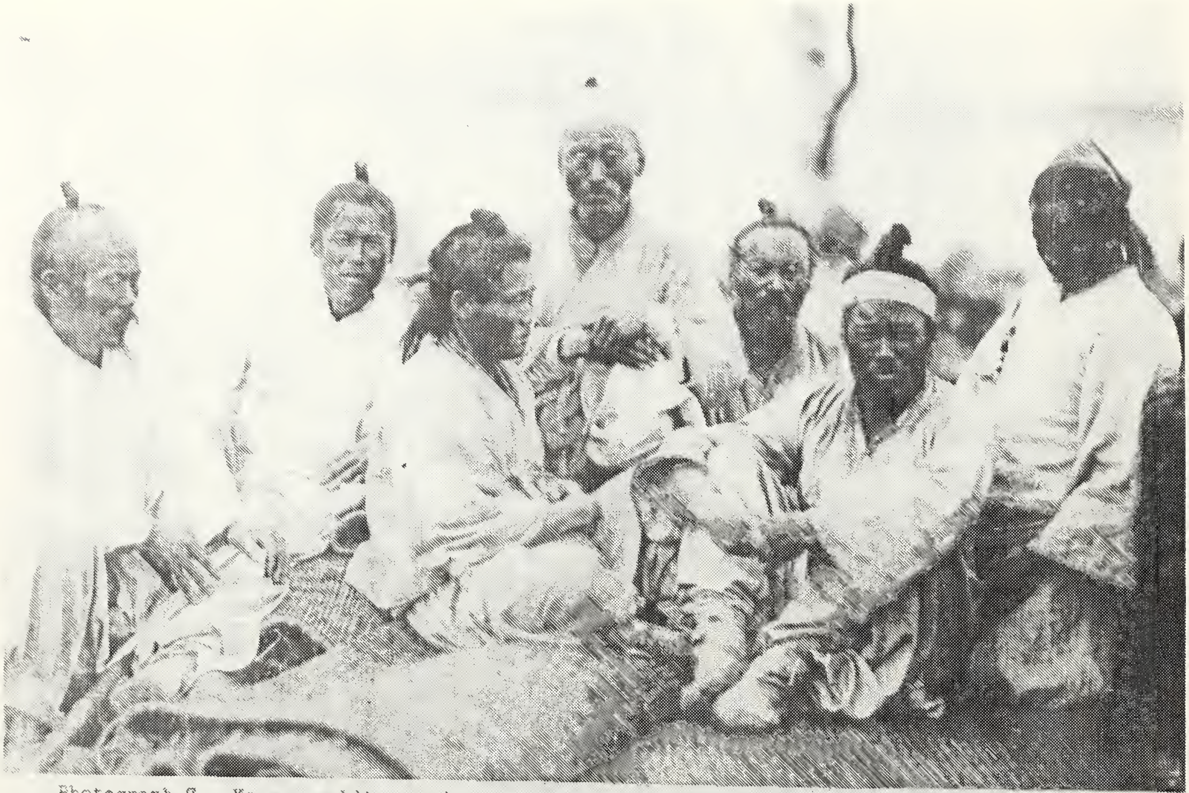
Knowing the American assault was imminent, the Koreans withdrew their men in the rifle pits in front of the fort into the interior. The Citadel had also been joined by enemy retreating from the lower forts as the Americans advanced. At this point, Commander McCrea on the *Monocacy* opened a merciless cannonade that lasted for over an hour. Eventually, the Korean cannons in the fort no longer returned fire. Instead, the enemy chanted some sort of solemn battle song or dirge.

> Some of the [American] men to whom this battle was to be a sort of baptism of fire were a little disturbed by the solemnity of the weird song, but when reminded that 'barking dogs rarely bite,' took a new determination for the fight which followed, desperate as it proved. [Ref. 32:p. 93]

For Kimberly, the Koreans' song was the cue. As he signalled the *Monocacy* to cease fire, Casey directed his men to line up for the assault. At 12:40 p.m., Casey ordered "Charge at double quick!" The battalion stormed the Citadel amid a storm of projectiles, musket fire, and cannon. Fortunately, for the Americans, the cannon fire sailed harmlessly over their heads; the Koreans were unable to move their fixed cannon and, thus, take proper aim. [Ref. 28:p. 73]

Inside the Citadel, the fighting was fierce and intense, almost all of it hand-to-hand. But the Korean swords and spears were simply no match for the Americans' carbine rifles and cutlasses. The defenders fought tenaciously, and it was only after their men had been piled up after several bayonet charges and their quarters were on fire that the survivors fled for the cliffs and the road leading down to the river. Among those not killed in the American assault, many jumped to their deaths off cliffs above the river bank. Others were cut down by Cassell's men overlooking the road or were shot or drowned when they jumped into the river trying to escape. To avoid capture, some, like the Korean general, slit their own throats or silently suffered living cremation in the burning buildings. [Ref. 32:pp. 93-94]

By the time the battle was completely finished, five forts had been taken and everything in them destroyed. All together, about 250 Koreans had been killed in combat, 180 of whom died in the assault on the Citadel alone. The Americans had captured fifty Korean flags, including the huge yellow banner of the Koreans' commanding general. They also held about twenty Korean prisoners, all wounded. Among the Korean materials rumaged through for potential intelligence gain were numerous books, manuscripts, orders and other miscellaneous documents which, in addition to being interesting, enabled the Americans to better understand the attitudes and actions of the Korean government. American losses stood at just three killed and nine wounded. [Ref. 34:June 11] The dead were Lieutenant Hugh McKee, the first man into the Citadel (the Americans later renamed the Korean fort Fort McKee), Seth Allen, a Navy landsman from the *Colorado*, and Dennis Hamahan, a marine private from the *Benicia*. Allen and Hamahan were buried somewhere on Boisée Island, and McKee's body was embalmed and sent home [Ref. 34:June 12].



Photograph 7. Korean soldiers taken as prisoners of war during combat, June 11-12, 1871.

Back at the anchorage, everyone was quite anxious about the success of the mission. Low and Captain Nichols spent much of the day on board the *Benicia*, from which they could see the Citadel from her main deck. At noon they had received word via telegraph that American forces had taken the lower fort. Within a couple of hours they saw the billowing smoke coming from the assault on the Citadel and took great pride is seeing the American flag replace that of the Korean general.

At that point, Admiral Rodgers and Minister Low's anxiety was replaced by confidence and pride that their men were victorious. By four o'clock, a boat from the *Palos* had returned to the anchorage with valuable information about the incursion. Upon learning of the degree of their success and the casualty assessment, Admiral Rodgers concluded those results were good enough and ordered the whole expedition return the next day. [Ref. 34:June 11]

Kimberly and the landing force hardly rested on their laurels. In the short time they had remaining at the Citadel, he and his men took full advantage of the opportunity to learn from what had happened. Carefully examining the dead Koreans, the division surgeon found most of the fatal wounds were above the hips, forty of which were found in a heap where they had fallen after being shot in the head as they looked over the parapet -- a credit to American marksmanship and their Remington breech-loading rifles.

By contrast, examining captured Korean weaponry revealed all the rumors in Shanghai and Nagasaki were just that -- rumors. The Koreans did not possess one modern gun among them. Their immobile brass cannon were antiquated, and they had no reliable small arms. In fact, the only "small arms" they did have were "Jing-galls," which took two men to carry on their shoulders and was touched off by a match! [Ref. 35:p. 14]

On the other hand, the Koreans fought with desperate courage. Even when their weapons failed them, they still resisted by every possible means. They threw stones down from the parapets, met the Americans with spear and sword, and, if they became disarmed, even tried to throw dust in the opponents' eyes to blind them. Most heroically died at their posts without fear. Those who left their posts did so only after they were totally overwhelmed by superior force. One rumor later made the rounds that one of the prisoners told the Americans the King threatened that if the Citadel was lost, then every person on Kangwha would be beheaded [Ref. 35:p. 12]. Nevertheless, the Americans came away from the Citadel with a healthy respect for their Korean foe. "The men of no nation could have done more for home and country." [Ref. 32:p. 95]

VIII. AFTER THE BATTLE

The morning of June 12, the incursionary force left the Citadel with a profound sense of accomplishment and pride. Every Korean gun in the forts had been dismounted, every storehouse destroyed, and every magazine blown up. When the Koreans returned they would not be able to forget the Americans had been there for a long, long time. Better yet, as far as the men were concerned, the presumed Korean insult to the American flag in their attack of June 1 had been fully avenged.

When the *Monocacy* and the *Palos* arrived at the anchorage about noon, it must have been a sight to behold. All the returning officers and men were aboard the two ships, with the other launches and boats empty and in tow. Captured enemy flags and banners were everywhere. Everyone aboard the *Benicia*, *Alaska* and *Colorado* were cheering the returning conquering heroes. [Ref. 34:June 12]

A. THE EFFECTS ON THE AMERICANS

That same day the Americans regrouped to consider the events of the previous two days. They were quick to acknowledge their luck. All agreed, it was the superiority of their small arms and artillery that saved them from disaster. With modern arms and artillery the Koreans could have stood up against equal numbers from any country. The Americans were now estimating the total Korean dead at more than 300, although the formally reported figures stood at the earlier reported figure of about 250. They stopped counting and did not even try to estimate all the wounded. No one belittled the Koreans' courage.

They were, however, puzzled at the Korean rationale for not using the thousands of Korean troops they knew to be in the immediate vicinity to reinforce the Citadel forces. Granted, the Koreans were aware of the superiority of the American weapons, but the fact they kept such a huge force back while so many of their brave countrymen were being overrun was somewhat interesting. Considering another problem their critique of the landing revealed, it was also probably the greatest single stroke of luck the Americans had.

That potentially disastrous problem concerned the fleet's ammunition. Throughout the landing excursion it was reported that large numbers of small arms cartridges in the field did not go off. Marine Captain McLane Tilton reported this to Admiral Rodgers who, in turn, ordered an examination of all the fleet's ammunition. Considering the combat they'd just been through, the result of the board of inquiry was frightening.

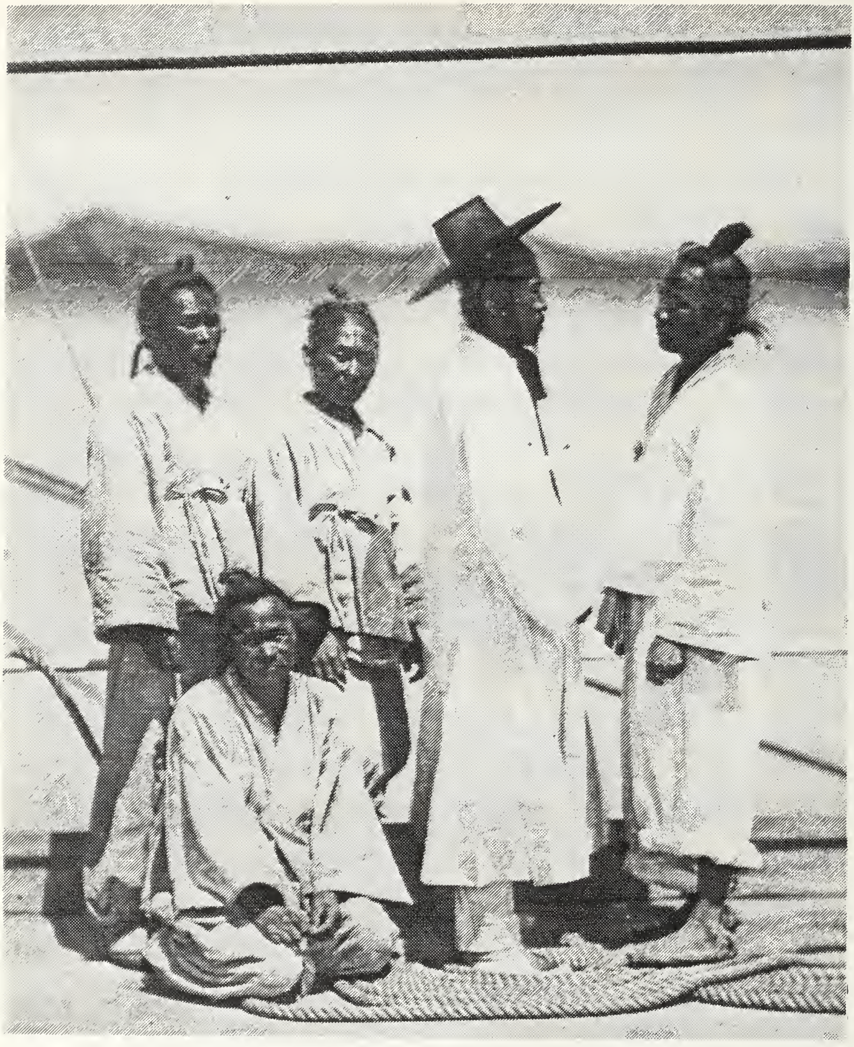
> ... we found on one ship that only *eight* out of a *hundred* would go off, on another only fifty out of a hundred, and on another only forty out of a hundred were good for anything! [Ref. 35:p. 16]

The problem was eventually traced to ammunition packed in paper boxes vice the more traditional wooden boxes. A sizable portion of the fleet's ammunition was packed that way. Captain Tilton found that those copper shelled cartridges packed in paper, particularly those marked "Frankford arsenal 1869," had a tendency to oxidate in the fuminate cavity. In almost all samples, he found substantial amounts of what looked like rust at the bottom of the shell cups, and in many cases, he discovered the tinned surface of the cup entirely gone. [Ref. 35:p. 21] Had the thousands of Koreans massed beyond range on Kangwha island decided to come to the aid of their beseiged brethren inside the forts, the result of the landing may have been disastrously different for the Americans.

Another surprise development in the course of this evaluation session was the appearance at the "post office" of an evening note from the Prefect of Foo-Ping-Foo. In it was some colorful language which Low dismissed as the pouting of someone whipped badly. [Ref. 34:June 12] But Prefect Yi also revealed much of the Korean perspective of what had transpired since the Americans arrived in Korea.

> Looking at it now, we can know this much for certain: under outward profession of friendship you cherish false and deceitful designs. To come to your landing, and thoroughly displaying your force of committing public buildings to the flames, burning cottages, stealing property, sweeping up everything to the veriest trifle. These are the actions of thieves and spies. [Ref. 19:p. 102]

At this point, all the fighting was over. However, the same could not be said of the expedition. Low felt it was his duty to at least attempt to bring the Koreans to negotiate. Part of the strategy was a show of humanity. The Americans went to great lengths to care for the Korean wounded they brought back to the ships and decided to do everything possible to get them back to their own people safely. Later the wounded were transferred to a Korean junk without incident. Low also tried to send another dispatch to the King. In it, he made it clear he considered the Americans' insult of June 1 had been redressed and the United States was now ready to reopen negotiations with the Korean government. These overtures did nothing more than start several rounds of refusals to forward Low's proposals, matched by Low's renewed



Photograph 8. A Korean official (in the hat) prepares to disembark the *U.S.S. Colorado* with the Korean prisoners the Americans released following the fighting of June 11-12, 1871.

request his dispatches be forwarded to Seoul. The Koreans saw no reason to do business with a diplomat prone to such high-handed tactics.

By June 20th, Low's personal and professional frustrations were undeniable.

> I am convinced that further delay will serve no useful purpose. I have, however, little hope of bringing the King to any proper terms. Everything goes to prove that the government from the first determined to reject all peaceful overtures for negotiation or even discussion; and that the recent demonstration [the incursion], which would have produced a profound impression upon any other government, has little or no effect, favorable or otherwise, upon this [government]. The operations of the 10th and 11th were more significant than those of the English and French in 1858, when the capture of the Taku forts at the mouth of the Peiho River, caused the government of China to immediately send ministers and conclude treaties at Tientsin, and yet this government shows no sign which leads to the belief that there is any change in its attitude of defiance to all other nations. [Ref. 30:p. 129]

Meanwhile, morale on the ships was declining rapidly. On June 19th, there was a mass court martial for the trial of sundry offenses of the petty officers and crews of the squadron. Furthermore, reports about Korean activities on shore certainly did nothing to heighten American spirits. It was obvious the Koreans had learned from their defeat and that, if used again, the Americans' previous tactics would not be so successful.

Low's morale was also badly shaken. After sending his June 20th message to the Secretary of State, he was profoundly questioning his mission's purpose, viability, benefit to both countries, and eventual likelihood of success. He came to the conclusion that the only way Korea could be brought to terms was to occupy the capital and capture or drive off the King. Knowing Admiral Rodgers did not have the force to do that, Low decided to give up trying and push for withdraw from

Korea. Without telling anyone, he prepared a letter to be sent to President Grant upon returning to China. In it, Low reported on the Korean situation, as he saw it, and deferred any decisions about Korea-related actions to Washington. [Ref. 34:June 16-21]

B. THE EFFECTS ON THE KOREANS

After all that had happened, the Koreans were not about to believe the Americans' declaration of friendly intent. They also made it quite clear, by their sacrifices on Kanghwa Island and the Prefect's no nonsense verbage, they were resolved to resist further contacts no matter what the price. The Koreans had already been observed making repairs to the Citadel which appeared to lessen the chances of another American rout should the two sides resume fighting.

> Capt. Blake reported to me today that from his ship the Coreans could be distinctly seen engaged in repairing the fort where they met great defeat. Capt. Blake thinks they have learned a lesson which will be of great advantage to them and damaging to any nation that undertakes to conquer this country. Like the Chinese the people of this country only prepared to defend one side. In the construction of their forts the rear is universally left unprotected. Attacking the forts in the rear with a land force evidently created surprise and disarranged their plan of defence. If Capt. Blake is correct in his observations they are constructing works in the rear of the fort, which if true will render it much more formidable that it was before. [Ref. 34:June 19]

C. GOING HOME WITH HONOR

While Low finally realized the futility of his mission and its "gunboat diplomacy" tactics, Admiral Rodgers was still making the fleet available and had already brought over a resupply ship to ensure the fleet's readiness. Low was anguishing over how to send the expedition home honorably. On June 23 he sent this message to the American

Consul-General's office in Shanghai via the resupply ship for relay to Washington:

> Recent demonstration produced no effect on negotiations. Nothing can be effected short of capital [referring to Seoul]. Force insufficient to go there without great risk. If peaceful measures fail shall withdraw and wait instructions. [Ref. 34:June 23]

But what Low really felt was not in his message to Washington.

> I have now little hope and no expectation of being able to bring the government to discuss any matter, much more to enter into any kind of a treaty... So far as I know there [is] no officer of any prominence in the fleet who thinks it prudent to undertake farther offensive operations with the force now here. [Ref. 34:June 24]

Now the Americans just waited, partly to prepare to return to China and partly hoping the Koreans might change their minds and make some overture. While Low and Admiral Rodgers were busy writing summary dispatches to the State and Navy Departments, morale continued to decline. One of the expedition's officers wrote home:

> ... we are heartily sick of this place... Corea is as lonesome a place as any we have been to during our cruise.... Our mission to Corea has been a perfect failure; they won't have anything to do with us.... [Ref. 35:p. 16]

Little else of note happened during this time. Then on June 30, a German man-of-war, the *Hertha*, came near the squadron. The German Lieutenant that came aboard informed Low and the Admiral that his vessel had just come from China where rumors were already circulating that the Koreans sunk three of the American ships and "the others were hemmed in with little chance of escape." The commander of the *Hertha* thought the story absurd but took it upon himself to render what help might be necessary. Needless to say, this did little to improve American morale. [Ref. 34:June 25-30]

Finally, on July 3, the entire squadron set sail to return to China. An uneventful crossing, they made port at Chefoo on July 5th. By July 10, rumors about the Low-Rodgers Expedition were running rampant in Shanghai. Stories of Korean victory were everywhere. The Shanghai newspapers criticized Admiral Rodgers and Minister Low for their withdrawal from Korea before receiving instructions from Washington.

Low was quite sensitive to what he felt was all the undue criticism, especially since he found himself faced with writing to Secretary of State Fish to explain why the mission failed. It was only fitting that his July 6th dispatch to Fish focused on three basic themes. First, the Koreans never wanted intercourse with any of the foreign powers, and they would do everything within their power to resist such intercourse. Secondly, neither he, Admiral Rodgers, nor anyone else on the expedition did anything to cause their mission to fail. Instead, Low believed the Koreans laid a trap for the Americans which demanded a military response. In his message, he emphasized that the fleet's ten day delay provided the Koreans ample opportunity to admit their mistake and open talks with the Americans. Finally, Low was concerned about the impact the failure of America's Korea initiative might have on Western relations throughout northeast Asia. In his thoughts are found a true concern for overall U.S. national interests in that part of the world.

> That Corea will not voluntarily make any arrangements by which these rights can be secured is settled beyond a doubt. The question now is, whether western nations will permit this unhappy condition of things to continue, or whether active and efficient means will be adopted to correct existing evils. In determining a policy for the future, the influence which the attitude and action of Corea will exert upon China and Japan should not be lost sight of... It is not likely that my statement of the actual facts [of what transpired in Korea] will be received and accepted as correct by the imperial

> government of China; that while we failed to accomplish what we had a right to hope for and expect in the matter of negotiations, we suffered no defeat at the hands of the Corean armies, but that, on the contrary, we inflicted great injury upon them for their unprovoked assault. But even if successful in this, it will exercise little influence upon the officials that are naturally inimical to foreigners, or the people.
>
> The Corean government will exult over the fact that it is able to keep foreign nations from entering its territory, and prevent their ministers from communicating with its high officers.
>
> This will react upon China, and prevent further concessions being made. It will also furnish additional arguments to the anti-foreign party, who insist upon the right and duty of China to expel all foreigners...
>
> As the case stands, foreign governments should decide either to let Corea alone, and allow her to burn, pillage, destroy, and massacre all that come within her reach without question or demand for redress, or organize and send such a force as will be able to insure success, without unnecessary risk, in breaking down the barriers that stand in the way of intercourse. No further efforts at conciliatory negotiation should be made, nor should mere demonstrations of force be attempted in the expectation that favorable results will follow.
>
> They will serve no useful purpose, and be likely to end in harm. Every fresh attempt and failure to accomplish practical results in Corea only tend to render the situation in China more insecure... And every year that the Corean government is allowed to continue in its exclusiveness, increases the peril to the lives and property of foreign residents in China. If no adequate measures be taken to avert the impending storm in the East, the result will, I fear, be disastrous. [Ref. 30:pp. 146-147]

Perhaps the most interesting revelation in Low's summation was his linkage of the expedition's failure to Jenkins and the ill-affect Jenkins and Oppert's irresponsible actions three years before had on U.S. policy in the Far East.

> I also feel bound to say that the consul-general's [George Seward] informant [Jenkins] fabricated, for ulterior and base purposes, the information embodied in the dispatches referred to [which eventually resulted in the expedition]. There is no reason that it contained the least shadow of truth; on the contrary, evidence is most conclusive that there never was any intention on the part of the government of Corea to offer an apology or afford the least

> reparation for what I am now convinced was a great outrage upon the persons and property of citizens of the United States. All the evidence obtainable goes to prove that the government of Corea was and is determined to maintain its original status -- non-intercourse with any Western nation, and hostile resistance to all attempts of foreign governments to establish relations for whatever purpose. [Ref. 30:pp. 143-144]

In Low's opinion, it was clear the expedition should never have taken place. Although he would change his mind somewhat in the months to come, his initial honest assessment was that it had accomplished nothing except hardening Korean resolve and hurting the credibility of the United States and other Western nations in the Far East.

IX. CONCLUSION

Researching the people, events, and circumstances surrounding the *General Sherman* and the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 has certainly been challenging, revealing, and enlightening. The challenge is the same for most any research. Finding sufficient resources, keeping them in perspective, properly interpreting the events and motivations of the central characters, and discerning possible hidden influential factors are never easy. This has been especially true in the case of chronicling and understanding the *General Sherman* and the Low-Rodgers Expedition. Here are two events, very different in nature and separated in time and place, yet also intricately related. Each is inseparable from the other.

In the past, resource materials on both events have been very thin, especially for the *General Sherman*. Too often, they have apparently been inaccessible to those who have need of it, and far too many have painted the wrong picture of both events. For example, the *General Sherman's* crew was neither helpless nor innocent, and retaliation for the ship's destruction and the crew's murder played no part in the Low-Rodgers Expedition. If anything, most accounts of the *General Sherman* and the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 have done little more than prove Will Durant's observation that "most history is guessing, and the rest is prejudice." [Ref. 37:p. 12]

Some historians, like E.M. Cable, obviously did a better job of accurately chronicling and interpreting both events. Cable made extensive use of American diplomatic correspondence, especially concerning the Low-Rodgers expedition. Thanks, too, in large part to his superb command of the Korean language and knowledge of Korean culture, he was able to present a reasonably unbiased version of the Korean side of both events. But despite the fact that Cable's was by far the most extensive account, there was still something missing. By his own admission, there were disturbing gaps. "The fleet remained at Boisée Island sixteen days after the return of the punitive expedition from Kangwha Island. It would be interesting to know exactly what transpired during these days." [Ref. 19:p. 102]

While Cable looked at the *General Sherman* and the Low-Rodgers Expedition extensively, he mistakenly neglected other events, people, and circumstances that may have had a profound impact on both. Nowhere did Cable or anyone else attempt to find some lessons from these two events and how such lessons might illuminate some present problem or provide guidance for today's judgments or policies.

This thesis has attempted to fill in some of those gaps and examine some other peripheral yet influential events. If that effort has been reasonably successful, what can be concluded?

In terms of their stated purposes, both missions were failures and their actions at every stage left much to be desired. Likewise, given the circumstances spawning them, it is not difficult to understand how distortions grew up around both events. It now appears certain the *General Sherman* was not always loyal to its trade mission, nor was the 1871 expedition out for pure revenge. Both were doomed from the start.

A. THE *GENERAL SHERMAN*: SELF-ASSURED DESTRUCTION

All told, the destruction of the *General Sherman* and the killing of its crew are easy to understand. In fact, it would have been much more difficult to explain had the *General Sherman* succeeded. From a historical perspective, there was never any reasonable chance for success.

The primary factor in the *General Sherman's* guaranteed failure was Korea's traditional distaste for foreigners and its policy of relative isolationism. Korea's profound aversion to foreigners was well known throughout East Asia, and it was not simply the whimsical policy of some past monarch. On the contrary, to Koreans it was the pragmatic answer to the very real problems of national defense and survival. For centuries, Korea had been known as the "Hermit Kingdom," and its history of frequent and savage invasions, as well as pirate raids on its coasts, made such a policy quite attractive.

Strategically situated between China and Japan, Korea was also in a unique position to observe the cultural damage caused by foreign encroachments into both its neighbors. The appearance of foreign warships and their demands, as well as the expansion of a foreign religion -- Catholicism -- only reinforced Korea's disdain for things foreign, providing the government a convenient scapegoat on which to blame its domestic troubles. The year the *General Sherman* arrived Korea was right in the middle of one of the worse Catholic persecutions in its history. The fact that the Koreans' principle contact on the *General Sherman* was a foreign missionary (Reverend Thomas) who aggressively chastised them for their persecution of

Catholics, spoke poor Korean, and dealt with them deceitfully, just added a few more negatives to the failure equation. But that was not all.

Korea was still basically a Confucian society with a committed Confucian, the Taewon'gun, heading the government. In a Confucian society business and trading are endeavors of relatively low repute. Selling its cargo for profit was the *General Sherman's* stated purpose. Several other foreign trade missions had tried before and failed; there was no precedent for such foreign intercourse in Korean history. There was simply no reason to assume the government would be receptive to the arrival of the *General Sherman*.

Furthermore, much of the *General Sherman's* crew -- Chinese and Malays -- were the very kinds of men the Koreans associated with the country's frequent coastal pirate raids. Such circumstances hardly bred an atmosphere of trust or receptiveness.

Consider, too, the ship's formidable cannons and guns, its audacious progression inland on the Taedong River -- despite numerous warnings of government policy forbidding foreign vessels inland -- and, finally, the crew's kidnapping and thievery. Is it any surprise the people became enraged and resorted to mob violence?

But, since there were no survivors to provide a firsthand version, are the Yi Dynasty Annals reliable as the primary account of what happened to the *General Sherman* in Korea? In all fairness to the Koreans, they are. First, the Korean historical account is very detailed. Therein it gives considerable information that a contrived account would be sure to omit. Examples abound: the ineffectiveness of local officials in dealing with the *General Sherman* problem; the resignation of a government official out of embarrassment due to his own government's seeming impotence in dealing with the foreigners; the Seoul government's slow response to the locals' call for help; the military's reluctance to take aggressive action; the success of a few vigilantes after the Korean military failed to rescue the hostages; the *General Sherman* crew's initial success in thwarting the Koreans' attempts to destroy the vessel. When governments falsify records, they tend to make themselves look better than this.

There is also other reasonable support of the account depicted in the annals. The story about the *General Sherman* provided Shufeldt by the Korean locals during the United States' first fact finding mission in 1867 supported the official Korean version of the event. Their story is even more credible when you consider Shufeldt was asking his questions of the common people at a considerable distance from where the destruction and killings took place, and that Korean officials refused to discuss the matter with him. It is also important to note that Shufeldt's pre-mission fact finding efforts helped him reach pretty much the same conclusion -- that the *General Sherman* crew was probably at fault -- before he sailed for Korea.

On behalf of the *General Sherman*, there is no evidence that its original intent was anything more than trade. Its weapons were for a cautious self-defense, not aggressive operations. More likely, its crew was at first overzealously committed to doing business, then, out of frustration and fear, lost control of the situation. It is quite conceivable that the kidnapping of the Korean colonel may have been a spontaneous act that, once the deed was done, the Americans and Europeans simply decided to try to use it to their advantage. If so, as the outcome attests, it was a tragic decision.

In the final analysis, the *General Sherman* was simply an entrepreneurial venture incapable of dealing with the certain risks and probable outcomes that awaited it. Its tragedy comes not in the fact that there were too many "unknowns," but that the "knowns" went unheeded.

B. THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION: GOOD INTENTIONS GONE AWRY

Whereas the *General Sherman* mission was entrepreneurial in nature, the purpose of the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 was essentially virtuous. Its primary task in Korea was to make a treaty ensuring the protection and humane treatment of shipwrecked sailors. Anything else, such as commercial intercourse, was deemed secondary and nonessential.

There was also marked contrast between the two missions in the areas of planning and makeup. Whereas the *General Sherman* was shoddily planned from the beginning, the Low-Rodgers Expedition was in the making for over a year. It also enjoyed many other benefits the *General Sherman* did not: the experience of two previous U.S. fact-finding missions to Korea (Shufeldt and Febiger); U.S. government sponsorship; adequate linguistic support (the "Russian-Korean" and Chinese translators); logistics support between the Korean anchorage and Chefoo; the French maps and charts of the area from the incursion in 1866; and by every measure -- numbers, weaponry, and command and combat experience -- superb military support.

The Low-Rodgers Expedition also enjoyed a sense of future vision that the *General Sherman* did not. Minister Low firmly believed that Korea's strategic location between China, Japan, and Russian Manchuria made the opening of Korea an American imperative. At the same time, Low tempered the mission with guarded pragmatism. He fully appreciated the constraints under which the expedition would be proceeding and openly shared his lack of optimism in its chances for success with his superiors. Low also understood the Korean penchant for procrastination and was quite prepared to wait for a response in Korea for some time.

But if there was all that preparation, support, and commitment, why did the Low-Rodgers Expedition fail? Why all the fighting? Cable points out that, in terms of the fighting, the Low-Rodgers Expedition was an unqualified success. He notes the American units swept and destroyed everything before them, citing Admiral Rodgers' report that five forts were captured, 50 Korean flags, 481 pieces of artillery were taken and more than three hundred killed. [Ref. 19: p. 113] Cable is also quick to attribute the expedition's failure to immediate causes.

> ... the efforts of the mission to negotiate the desired treaties with Korea were frustrated by the unfortunate attack upon the vessels sent out by Admiral Rodgers to survey the upper channel of the river and the subsequent military reprisal of June 10th to the 11th. [Ref. 19: p. 114]

To his credit, Cable appreciates the Korean rationale and perspective for the initial attack on the U.S. survey boats, acknowledging that, regardless of the nobility of one's intentions, sending armed vessels into a kingdom's most fortified strategic zone may be equated to an act provocative of war. He maintains that the Korean soldiers in those forts were simply doing their job of protecting the kingdom's capital from the approach of armed foreigners. Since there was no progress following the initial attack and reprisal, Cable argues, that is why the Low-Rodgers expedition failed. [Ref. 19: pp. 114-115].

Superficially, Cable is right. But if one delves a little deeper, the initial Korean attack and U.S. reprisal were not the real causes of the expedition's failure; they were merely symptomatic results of the real causes: poor timing, hardened attitudes, misunderstanding, and cultural ignorance.

As mentioned earlier, the Americans' timing could not have been worse. Korea's aversion to foreigners, nurtured by a long history of outside invasions and raids, was dramatically reinforced by its traumatic recent history. Russian trading ultimatums, French punitive expeditions, a foreign religion tearing at the very fabric of Korean society, the *General Sherman* incident, and similar marauding incursions all served to convince Koreans at every social strata that foreigners and things foreign were bad for Korea.

Probably no one incident hardened Korean isolationist attitudes and guaranteed the Low-Rodgers Expedition's failure more than the Oppert conspiracy. What kind of reaction might one expect from a staunchly anti-foreign, Confucian dictator when foreigners illegally enter his country and attempt to steal from and deface the sacred graves of Korean royalty, especially when no apology was forthcoming nor punishment exacted once the culprits were caught? How might one expect the Korean military to react to heavily armed vessels anchoring in their bays and surveying the waterways to their capital when just five years before a foreign expedition of similar makeup laid waste to the entire island of Kangwha? How was the negative affect of the Oppert conspiracy lost on the very men who tried to bring him and Jenkins, his American cohort, to justice? In such a context, how can history do anything but question the timing of the Low-Rodgers Expedition?

Hardened attitudes on both sides were also at the mercy of misunderstandings and cultural ignorances. When he had them informed about the intended river survey on June 1st, Low completely misread the Koreans' silence as a tacit approval. Had he or someone near him been aware of common Korean behavior, he could have been warned before proceeding with the survey. Perhaps the entire incident could have been avoided, and the reprisal raid never contemplated.

Likewise, Low's preoccupation with western diplomatic protocol must have had some negative affect on Korean attitudes toward the Americans. The three Korean officials who were first invited aboard the *Colorado*, then snubbed by Low, surely did not provide their superiors a favorable report on the Americans. Low's snubbing did nothing to cultivate trust from a people steeped in an anti-foreign tradition. The Americans also did nothing to encourage a conciliatory attitude on the part of the Koreans by razing five of their forts without trying to appreciate the Korean perspective for the incident of June 1st. How much more progress might they have made if, from the very beginning, they patiently spelled out their trip's intent in the context of the developing situation in East Asia?

Low also made no attempt to solicit the support of the lower officials who visited the anchorage. He never broached the subject of Korea's potential long term benefits from relations between the two countries. And regarding the Korean's initial firing on the U.S. survey boats, it is particular perplexing to think that the Americans never entertained the thought that the Koreans in the forts might not have received word of the survey missions coming up river. Instead, the Americans preferred to think that destroying five Korean forts, killing hundreds, and inadvertently setting a civilian village on fire would make for effective diplomacy.

The Koreans, however, were not void of responsibility for what transpired. Their own cultural ignorance and biases failed to grasp or overlook the Americans' straightforwardness and penchant for immediate results and paper treaties. Although they did try to share some of their isolationist rationale, it was too subtle and disguised for the Americans to perceive what the Koreans actually meant.

The Koreans were also pitifully blind to the changes that were going on all around them. They pridefully clinged to their traditional isolationist policies while modern vessels and weapons left them at the West's mercy whenever they confronted each other.

The results for both sides were disastrous. Hundreds were killed; hundreds more were wounded; attitudes on both sides were hardened to the point of irrationality. And for what? For national pride? To avenge a relatively harmless attack brought about by misunderstanding and mutual ignorance of each side's intentions and national interests? The state has our instincts and shortcomings without our restraints.

C. THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION'S LEGACY

In terms of its stated objective to initiate relations with Korea, was the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 a complete failure? At the time, the U.S. State Department, the foreign community in China, and certainly the Koreans, Chinese, and Japanese, would all have answered "yes." Despite the diplomatic flexibility it gave Low before the expedition, afterwards the U.S. State Department questioned Low's judgment on several points, and forced him to spend considerable time and effort justifying almost everything he did in Korea. Low never denied that mistakes had been made in Korea.

> That mistakes were possible, and even probable, I never for a moment doubted; and it is a source of gratification to me that, according to my present lights, so few were committed. And while I feel confident that all was done that could be, under the circumstances, it is a source of sincere regret and disappointment that the result was not all the Department [of State] hoped for and perhaps expected. [Ref. 22:p. 129]

Since then, even serious Western historical commentators have tended to downplay, if not dismiss, the role the Low-Rodgers Expedition played in laying the foundations of U.S. policy in Korea. Low himself, however, sincerely perceived positive results coming from his excursion to Korea.

> The chastisement which the attack upon our vessels by the Coreans rendered necessary, judging from all I can see and hear, has done good; it has convinced the Chinese as well as their vassals that insults and injuries will not be allowed to go unredressed, which has increased the respect of this government for us as a nation. A lesson has at the same time been taught the Corean government which will prove useful; it will, I feel certain, tend to guarantee humane treatment of shipwrecked people, who may be unfortunately thrown upon the mercy of that nation, more certainly that all the voluntary promises of the Kind heretofore made through the Peking government. [Ref. 22:pp. 129-130]

With these words, was Frederick Low simply placating an ego bruised when the expedition returned to China without a treaty with Korea? Perhaps. But the Low-Rodgers Expedition did leave its mark on Korea and the foundations of American policy there. Almost three years after the expedition, a Roman Catholic bishop, whose diocese comprised part of Manchuria and the region adjacent to Korea, brought the Americans in Peking some important information. On March 30, 1974, S. Wells Williams reported to Secretary of State Hamilton Fish that there had been:

> ... an entire change in the government of Corea within the last three months, and the removal of the ruler [the Taewon'gun] who has usurped the chief authority during the past fifteen years....
>
> The result of the visits of American men-of-war, in consequence of the destruction of the *General Sherman*, and especially the United States expedition of 1871, were all regarded as a great triumph, by this usurper, who had, as he supposed, delivered the kingdom from subjugation by foreigners, and asserted the prowess of his army. But after the American flag had retired from his coasts, and there was time to review the whole affair, the more sensible part of the rulers began to see it in a different light. The members of the annual embassy had also had an opportunity to confer with the Chinese rulers at Peking, and learn from them all the real nature of Mr. Low's attempt to open amicable relations with their sovereign. At any rate we know that some of the Coreans in this city last year purchased many copies of all the books about foreign countries, including the monthly magazine published in this city, to carry back with them.
>
> The conclusion now reported is, that the legitimate kind and his adopted mother [the Queen Dowager] in conjunction with the ruling nobles of Corea, have compelled the usurper Ti [Taewon'gun] to retire, and have assumed control. The change has been brought about without bloodshed, and the bishop... looks forward to a peaceable state of their missions, seeing that the new authorities are favorably disposed toward foreigners and Christianity.
>
> He reports that the disastrous and bloody result to the Coreans of our attack on Fort McKee was used as a strong argument with Ti, of the uselessness of his resisting foreign nations, whose weapons and tactic were so superior to theirs, and their resources so great. On all these points there is much, no doubt, to be learned, but there seem to be full grounds for believing the report of an entire change of government in that kingdom. [Ref. 38:pp. 253-254]

Although the Low-Rodgers Expedition's original good intentions obviously went awry at the time, its impact was still profound. From both within and outside, the idea of opening Korea to the outside world was planted beyond suppression. Eventually, more enlightened members of the Korean government prevailed over the isolationists and opened the way for other Western nations to initiate relations with Korea. By the time Commodore Robert W. Shufeldt returned to Korea in 1882, Korean-American relations had become a reality.

All considered, the Low-Rodgers Expedition of 1871 and everything that led up to it let us see some of the fundamental issues of the times and the national character of the participants. They gave us excellent examples of America's craving for commercial expansion and Korea's stubborn commitment to isolationism. In the murder of the *General Sherman's* crew, we saw the tragic results of the actions of irresponsible men. In the Oppert conspiracy and consequent Jenkins trial, we saw how Western schemes and bungling bred mistrust in our relations with those we wished to initiate a dialogue. In the fighting at Kanghwa Island, we saw the futility of a government unjustly trying to impose its will on a nation whose potential for hostile indignation and determined resolve was grossly underestimated, if considered at all. Finally, they all showed how the painful consequences of divergent national interests and simple misunderstanding at the international and cultural levels played a critical role in the foundations of U.S. policy in Korea.

APPENDIX A

THE *GENERAL SHERMAN* AND THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION TO KOREA

TIMELINE OF KEY EVENTS

Sep 1865	The Reverend R. J. Thomas makes his first visit to Korea.
Jan 1866	The Taewon'gun takes complete control of the Korean government.
	Reverend Thomas returns to China.
	Russian warship sails into Wonsan and demands trade.
Feb 1866	The Russians leave without a treaty.
Mar 1866	Koreans killed two French Roman Catholic bishops and nine missionaries, three of which escaped. One of them was Father Rydell, who later helped informed the the Americans about the fate of the *General Sherman.*
	The Taewon'gun launched a new nation-wide persecution against all Catholics.
Jun 1866	French warships go to Korea to investigate the status of French priests there. They bring back word of the killings in Korea.
13 Jul 1866	The French protested the massacres in Korea to the Chinese government.
29 Jul 1866	The *General Sherman* departed Tientsin for Chefoo on its way to Korea.
5 Aug 1866	Two French warships are sent to the west coast of Korea to reconnoiter in preparation of a French punitive strike for the earlier killings of the French priests.
9 Aug 1866	The *General Sherman* sailed out of Chefoo, China, for Korea.
15 Aug 1866	The *General Sherman* arrived off the coast of northwestern coast of Korea.

18 Aug 1866	Korean officials boarded the *General Sherman*. The *General Sherman* ignored their warnings and progressed up the Taedong River.
22 Aug 1866	Alarmed Korean officials again boarded the *General Sherman*, warning it not to proceed.
31 Aug 1866	*General Sherman* crewmen kidnapped three Koreans, one of whom was a high ranking official. Korean soldiers attempted a rescue of the Korean officials being held on board the *General Sherman*. It was unsuccessful. 13 Koreans were killed.
1 Sep 1866	The *General Sherman* ignored Korean warnings and continued to sail up the Taedong River toward Pyongyang. The *General Sherman* tried to discourage any further Korean rescue attempts by firing its cannon and other guns. The local citizenry became violently excited. Korean vigilantes managed to rescue the surviving Korean hostage on board the *General Sherman*.
2 Sep 1866	The *General Sherman* ran aground on a sand bar and began raiding nearby shipping for supplies, eventually seven Koreans were killed. In Seoul, Korean Ministers of State began debating how to handle the *General Sherman* situation.
3 Sep 1866	Korean attempts to destroy the *General Sherman* were thwarted. By the end of the day the *General Sherman's* crew was out of ammunition and still unable to free the ship from the sandbar.
4 Sep 1866	Koreans finally succeeded in destroying the *General Sherman* with fire-rafts. The crewmen who jumped ship to escape the flames were immediately apprehended, beaten, and killed by an enraged civilian mob.
6 Sep 1866	Orders to destroy the *General Sherman* finally arrived from the Korean Ministers of State in Seoul.
17 Sep 1866	Seoul sent Peking a full accounting of what happened with the *General Sherman*.

30 Sep 1866	While on a fact finding mission related to Catholic persecution in Korea, the French fleet discovered the fate of the *General Sherman* from Father Ridel, a French Catholic priest running from Korean persecution.
5 Oct 1866	American authorities in China learned of the fate of the *General Sherman* and its crew from the French.
16 Oct 1866	The French fleet conducted a series of punitive actions against Korea on the island of Kangwha. This action lasted until 27 October 1866.
27 Nov 1866	U.S. Minister Burlingame suggested to Admiral Bell that the American Asiatic Squadron send a warship to Korea to inquire about the circumstances surrounding the deaths of the *General Sherman's* crew.
21 Jan 1867	Commander Shufeldt and the *Wachusett* sailed for Korea to inquire about possible *General Sherman* survivors.
5 Feb 1867	Commander Shufeldt and the *Wachusett* returned to China without survivors but with an unofficial confirmation that the *General Sherman's* crew had been killed by an enraged local mob.
3 Mar 1868	Reports of American prisoners seen in Korea, possibly survivors of the *General Sherman*, reached American authorities in Peking.
18 Mar 1868	Commander Febiger and the *U.S.S. Shenandoah* left for Korea to investigate new rumors of *General Sherman* survivors.
24 Apr 1868	Frederick Jenkins informed American authorities in Shanghai that he had been approached by representatives of the Korean government about opening relations with the West. He gained the U.S. Consulate General's implied authorization to pursue the matter under the guise of inquiring about the *General Sherman* affair. This prompted the Consulate General to propose Washington send U.S. warships to Korea to formally open negotiations.
30 Apr 1868	Jenkins, in partnership with Ernest Oppert, left Shanghai on board the steamer *China*. Its purpose was to go to Korea to rob the royal tombs and hold the bones for ransom.
25 May 1868	Commander Febiger and the *U.S.S. Shenandoah* returned from Korea with an official Korean government confirmation of the fate of the *General Sherman* and its crew.

25 May 1869	Jenkins returned from from Shanghai at about the same time as Febiger. Learning the real nature of the Jenkins-Oppert mission, American authorities started an investigation on Jenkins.
8 Jul 1868	Jenkins' trial commenced; the charge was "conspiracy."
11 Jul 1868	Jenkins acquitted of conspiracy charges.
14 Oct 1868	George F. Seward resurrected his proposal for gunboat diplomacy to open Korea.
Dec 1869	President Grant appointed Frederick F. Low as the new U.S. Minister to China.
20 Apr 1870	U.S. Secretary of State Hamilton Fish tasked Low to open negotiations with Korea. His mission was to effect an agreement on the protection of shipwrecked sailors and, if possible, trade.
8 May 1871	Three American warships departed Shanghai, China, bound for Nagasaki, Japan. This was the start of the Low-Rodgers Expedition.
12 May 1871	The American flotilla was joined in Nagasaki by two more warships. All the American ships resupplied in Nagasaki and prepared for their upcoming voyage to Korea. American newspaper reporters were refused a request to accompany the expedition to Korea, starting false rumors about the expeditions true intentions towards Korea.
30 May 1871	The American expedition arrived off the coast of Korea, near Kanghwa Island. When Koreans approached inquiring about its purpose, they were rebuked. Low demanded to discuss American intentions only with the Korean king or other sufficiently high official.
1 Jun 1871	Korean batteries fired on an armed American survey party, which included two of the flotilla's warships, progressing up the Han River. The Americans returned fire.
10 Jun 1871	Americans began two days of attacks on Korean fortifications on Kanghwa Island.
12 Jun 1871	American forces returned to the flotilla's anchorage.
3 Jul 1871	The American Expedition departed Korea with three combat dead, nine wounded, and no treaties.
5 Jul 1871	The American Expedition arrived at Chefoo, China.

Fall 1873	Minister Low departed China and returned to the U.S.
Mar 1874	Reliable reports received in from Korea indicated that the Taewon'gun had been removed from power and that the Low-Rodgers Expedition played a key role in Korea's eventual change in attitude towards relations with the Western nations.

APPENDIX B

THE LOW-RODGERS EXPEDITION OF 1871

THE LANDING PARTY OF JUNE 10-11, 1871

The total force organized for the assault against the Korean forts on June 11, 1871, was 618 officers and men. The total force to operate on the river against the water-front on board the *Monocacy* and *Palos* was 190 officers and men, plus Mr. Edward B. Drew. The following are the officers [Ref. 32: p. 86-87]:

Commanding Expedition	Captain H.C. Blake, USN
Commanding Land Forces	Commander L.A. Kimberly, USN
Adjutant Land Forces	Lt Cmdr W.S. Schley, USN
Signal Officer Land Forces	Ensign N.T. Houston, USN
Aid to Commander Land Forces	Mate A.K. Baylor, USN
Commanding Right Wing	Lt Cmdr Silas Casey, USN
Commanding Left Wing	Lt Cmdr W.K. Wheeler, USN
Commanding Company A	Lt Cmdr O.F. Heyerman, USN
1Lt Company A	Ensign C.A. Clark, USN
Commanding Company B	Master F.J. Drake, USN
Commanding Company C	Lt G.M. Totten, USN
Commanding Company D	Lt Hugh W. McKee, USN *
1Lt Company D	Master C.W. Chipp, USN
Commanding Company E	Lt Bloomfield McIlvaine, USN
Commanding Company F	Master J.E. Pillsbury, USN
Commanding Company G	Master T.C. McLean, USN
Commanding Company H	Master R.M.G. Brown, USN
1Lt Company H	Mate Collender, USN
Commanding Company I	Capt McLane Tilton, USMC
1Lt Company I	2Lt W.J. McDonald, USMC
Commanding Company K	1Lt J.B. Breese, USMC
1Lt Company K	1Lt F.M. Mullany, USMC
Official Interpreter	Mr. Edward B. Drew

DIVISION OF ARTILLERY

Commanding Division	Lt Cmdr Douglass Cassell, USN
Commanding Right Battery	Lt A.S. Snow, USN
Commanding Left Battery	Lt W.W. Mead, USN
Chief Right Section	Ensign Seaton Schroeder, USN
Chief Right Center Section	Ensign F.S. Bassett, USN
Chief Left Section	Mate N. Greenway, USN
Chief Left Center Section	Master A.V. Wadhams, USN

PIONEER DIVISION

Commanding Pioneers	Mate Quinn, USN

HOSPITAL CORPS

In Charge Corps	P.A. Surgeon, C.J.S. Wells, USN Asst. Surgeon, Latta, USN Asst. Surgeon, W.A. Corwin, USN Capt's Clerk, D. Holland, USN Chief Engineer, A. Henderson, USN

STEAM LAUNCH DIVISION

Commanding	Lt Cmdr H.F. Picking, USN 2d Asst. Engr. H.L. Slosson, USN
Commanding *Weehawken*	Mate L.P. Gallagher, USN
Commanding *Benicia* Launch	Mate S. Gee, USN 2d Asst. Engr. G.H. Kearney, USN
Commanding *Alaska* Launch	Master N. Roosevelt, USN 2d Asst. Engr. F.L. Cooper, USN

OFFICERS OF THE *MONOCACY*:

Commander E.P. McCrea, USN
Lt Cmdr D.E. Mullan, USN
Lt J.T. Gardner, USN
Master J.B. Smith, USN
Master T.C. Force, USN
2d Asst. Engr. H.D. Potts, USN
2d Asst. Engr. L.R. Harmony, USN
Surgeon Somerset Robinson, USN
Paymaster, C.D. Mansfield

OFFICERS OF THE *PALOS*:

Lt C.H. Rockwell, USN
Lt J.E. Jones, USN
Ensign James Franklin, USN
Mate H.C. Fuller, USN
Mate J.C. Howard, USN
Mate T.M. Nelson, USN
Mate P.C. Van Buskirk, USN
Asst. Surgeon F.H. Harwell
1st Asst. Engr. John Lowe

---

* Lt Hugh W. McKee was killed June 11, 1871, during the assault of the Korean fort known as the Citadel, Kangwha Island, Korea. In his honor, the expeditionary forces later named that place "Fort McKee."

APPENDIX C

THE DIARY OF FREDERICK FERDINAND LOW

MAY 8 - JULY 10, 1871

8 May 1871 (Monday)

Left Shanghai at 9 1/2 A.M. on the Steamer *Footlee* for Woosung, accompanied by Mrs. Low, Flora, Mr. & Mrs. Warden, & Mr. Dumaresq. The Secretaries, Messrs. Drew and Cowles also accompanied me. Raining very hard. Reached the *Colorado* about 11 A.M. The guests all came on board and dined with the Admiral, and left on their return at 2 o'clock. While at dinner the Steamer *New York* passed up the river with the American mails on board. Steamer *Palos* ordered to proceed to Shanghai for my mails. Got underweigh at 2 P.M., and steamed down to the lower Bar and anchored.

The *Monocacy* came down in company and put to sea same evening. The *Palos* arrived at our anchorage soon after dark. She communicated with the ship and brought my mail.

Fresh breeze from N.N.W. in the evening.

9 May 1871

Weather clear with fine fresh breeze from N.N.W. *Palos* went to sea at daylight bound to Nagasaki. *Colorado* got underweigh at 2 P.M. and steamed down to the light ship. Set all sail and continued under sail and steam until about 7 P.M. Stopped engines and continued under sail alone until 5 A.M., 10th May. Nothing occurred today of special interest.

Pilot left the ship about 4 P.M. Sent back an overcoat & bundle of blankets & shawls by pilot to Mr. Warden, and letters to Mr. W., Mrs. Low & Mr. Seward.

10 May 1871

Weather clear & pleasant. Wind getting round ahead and dying away. About noon took in all sail and continued under steam alone. Wrote despatches and looked over the papers, and so whiled away the day. In the evening thick fog on the water, but bright starlight overhead. Steamer making about 7 knots under steam alone. Notwithstanding the size of the *Colorado* do not think her as steady and comfortable in a sea way as a merchant steamer of much less size. Distance run in the last 24 hours 123 miles.

11 May 1871

Weather mild and cloudy. Sea smooth, no wind. Ship under steam alone. At 2 P.M. sighted land --- islands named "Asses ears" 12 miles distant. Howitzers on quarter deck practiced firing shells.

Distance run in the last 24 hours 155 miles. Wrote dispatches all day.

12 May 1871

Arrived at Nagasaki and anchored at 6:55 A.M. Weather warm and raining. Found in Port the *U.S.S. Alaska*, *Benicia*, *Monocacy* and *Palos*. Also the British flagship *Ocean* and [ ] and the French gunboat *Dupleix*. Exchanged salutes with the *Ocean* and *Dupleix*. The Consul called on the Admiral and myself. Later all the Commanders of the U.S. vessels called. Their visits I shall not return until my arrival on the coast of Corea. Engaged in visiting all day. Did not go on shore. Baron Richthofen called to see about accompanying the expedition as geologist. Promised to see him on shore next day.

13 May 1871

Weather in the morning drizzling and very disagreeable. In the afternoon it cleared up for several hours and was quite pleasant. P.M.S.S. Co.'s *New York* from Shanghai with the American mail arrived at 6 A.M. and brought me letters from Mrs. Low and Flora. She is to leave on Monday at 12 N. Am busy preparing my mail for the U.S. During the day Dr. Brettschneider called. In the afternoon the Admiral and I went on shore. Landed at Dezuna and walked through the Japanese settlement. The streets, shops and houses, of the Japanese present a striking contrast to those of the Chinese: --- the former being much cleaner, better stocked and more commodious in every way. Called at the German Consulate to see Baron Richthofen but failed to see him. Returned on board at 6 P.M.

Note: Putting down the arrival of the Stmr *New York* and everything connected therewith is an error. She arrived on Sunday instead of Saturday.

[The above note is Minister Low's.]

14 May 1871

Weather cloudy in the morning and clear and pleasant in the afternoon. (All I said about the arrival of the Stmr *New York* in yesterday's data should be inserted here). Attended church on board ship. The example is good and benificial, but the sermon both in matter and manner was not of the first order. In the afternoon the Admiral and I landed on the opposite shore to Nagasaki and took a walk on the hills. The five Coreans which were picked up at sea by the Schr *Spray* and brought to Taku, and from there sent to Shanghai, from which place the Admiral brought them on the flagship with the intention of returning them to their own country, became so alarmed at the prospect of being returned in a foreign ship, fearing punishment by their own officials, that the Admiral, after consultation with me, concluded to discharge them here and turn them over to the Japanese officials, who promised to send them back in one of the junks trading between Corea and Japan. These poor fellows became so much alarmed that they would not eat. They never tasted food for over 24 hours prior to their discharge.

15 May 1871

Weather clear, warm and pleasant. Said to be a exceptional day in Nagasaki --- rain being the rule and pleasant weather the exception. Finished my mail at 11 A.M. and went on board *New York* to call on some of the passengers. In the afternoon went on shore and called on Mrs. Mangum [?], the wife of the American Consul:-- her husband having left at noon on the Stmr for Yokohama.

All hands on board ship busy getting ready for sea. Admiral has given orders for the fleet to sail tomorrow at 6 A.M. He had all the Captains on board and gave them specific orders in regard to the voyage and ordered them to rendezvous at Ferrieruz Island, near the coast of Corea. Engaged a photographic artist to accompany the expedition. He will take passage in the *Monocacy*. Refused to allow newspaper correspondents to go. One, -- a correspondent of the *New York Herald*, protested in a letter to the Admiral at our decision, in terms more forcible than polite.

16 May 1871

Tuesday morning at 6 A.M. the flag-ship got underweigh and steamed down the harbor followed by the *Benicia*, *Alaska*, *Monocacy* and *Palos*. At the light house formed in "double echelon" (I believe it is called) -- the *Alaska* on starboard quarter and a little astern with the *Benicia* on the port quarter in same position. The *Monocacy* occupying a similar position with respect to the *Alaska*, and the *Palos* the same to the *Benicia*. Weather warm and pleasant and sea smooth. The fleet present a fine appearance. To one unacquainted with men of war, the precision and order of their movements and everything on board of them is very interesting. By noting this peculiarity one is better enabled to understand the power of the navy when acting in concert.

In the evening light breeze so that the fore-and-aft sails were set.

17 May 1871

Weather warm, misty and sultry in the morning. All the vessels of the fleet in sight and in position. Thick fog and mist in the forenoon. About noon a fresh breeze sprung up and made considerable sea. About 1 P.M. I noticed that all the top gallant masts and yards were sent down on the *Colorado, Alaska* and *Benicia*, which looked like "preparing for squalls." In the afternoon fresh breeze and considerable sea. The smaller vessels of the fleet were making bad weather of it. Several on board *Colorado* were sea-sick. Fortunately I was not one of the number. The Admiral was attacked while in Nagasaki with rheumatism in left breast and side. It has now worked downward into his legs and feet, -- the latter considerably swollen and painful. Last night was quite sick. Cause, eating crawfish which, I imagine, were not very fresh.

18 May 1871

Weather clear and bright and temperature pleasantly warm. All the vessels in sight and in position. *Monocacy* signalled that she had been roughly used by the sea yesterday, having lost 20 feet of her guards and had one boat stove. Later, she asked permission to proceed to the rendezvous as fast as she could in order to have time to repair damages. Her request was granted.

The Admiral is better today, and I hope will be well by the time we arrive. Mr. Drew and Mr. Cowles are busy translating into Chinese the documents we will be likely to require in our intercourse with the Coreans. I have entirely recovered from my recent overturn, with the exception that I have a slight pain in my right breast. I must have taken a slight cold in some way.

All the vessels running under easy steam and making slow progress. The Admiral desires to economize coal in every way. About sunset a light breeze sprung up. Set topsails topgallant sails and royals. *Monocacy* disappeared at the NE about nightfall.

19 May 1871

Splendid breeze from the South. Weather clear and cool. Stopped engine at 4 A.M. All sail set, steering due north with fair wind. *Benicia* and *Alaska* in their positions and the *Palos* in sight astern. Pleasantest motion I have ever experienced at sea. Ship going about eight knots. First time I have ever been at sea under sail alone with a fair wind. Changed course at 1 P.M. to E by N. At 3 P.M. made Ferriere Islands. Considerable swell and strong tide 4 P.M., proceeding very slow under steam and sounding. *Monocacy* at anchor under one of the islands and signalized that she had 10 fathoms of water. Sounding since 1 P.M. gradually decreasing from 20 fathoms at 5 P.M. Admiral concluded that it would not be safe to attempt to get round the islands today and ordered all vessels to anchor at 6 P.M. Fresh breeze and heavy swell. Today one of the most enjoyable days I ever spent at sea. The Admiral's rheumatism worse today. Doctor thinks the Admiral took cold yesterday again, and prohibits him going on deck today.

20 May 1871

Weather warm and thick fog --- cannot make out any of the vessels of the fleet although they are anchored near the flag-ship. Impossible to proceed, greatly to the disappointment of all. By sounding ascertained the rise and fall of the tide to be 24 feet. Current past the ship by log 1 1/2 knots. Capt. Nichols and myself tried fishing. "Caught nothing." Corean fish, like the inhabitants, evidently decline intercourse with foreigners. Fog lifted about 1 P.M. when the *Palos* and *Monocacy* got underweigh and anchored near the flagship. Admiral ordered the commanders of all the ships to come on board to give them specific instructions about proceeding when we start again. From here the order of sailing will be reversed: the *Palos* ahead, the *Monocacy*, *Benicia*, *Alaska* and the flag-ship following in the order in which they are named. I hope we will be able to proceed to our point of destination tomorrow. Have occupied myself in drafting such official communications to the Corean Government as will be likely to be necessary.

21 May 1871

Fog lifted about 9 A.M. when the order was given for all the vessels to get underweigh. Proceeded slowly on E by N course, sounding all the way. All the vessels sounding and making signals indicating depth of water. Weather thick so that it was impossible to distinguish objects more than one mile distant. Strong current running and sounding increased from 10 fathoms in the morning to 25 fathoms at 2 P.M. Saw some rocky islands on port quarter at 2 1/2 P.M. At 3 P.M. the fog getting so thick and the region hereabouts so imperfectly surveyed the Admiral concluded to anchor. Fired a signal of one gun for all the ships to come to anchor. Soon after anchoring the fog lifted a little when we found Isle Fernande bearing S.E. Soundings indicated 25 fathoms. Current so strong (about 3 1/2 knots) that it is impossible to get accurate soundings to determine the exact rise and fall of the tide. Estimates to be from 25 to 30 feet. Towards [evening?] saw some Corean junks not far off.

22 May 1871

Am greatly disappointed this morning at finding a dense fog, shutting out of view everything 100 yards distant. Weather warm. Impossible to proceed unless the fog lifts. At 12 N. fog lighted up a little enabling us to see the islands near us and the other vessels of the squadron. At 2 P.M. fog shut down as thick as before. About 1 P.M. saw a Corean junk bound W.S.W. all sail set and crew rowing or sculling. Too far off to see particularly either the vessel or the crew but supposed her to be Corean. Made the draft of a letter to the King of Corea announcing my arrival on the Coast and my readiness to meet a high officer of equal rank with myself. Unless some one appears at the anchorage of the flag-ship soon after our arrival I shall send Mr. Cowles or Mr. Drew in one of the smaller vessels in the direction of Kang-Hoa to endeavor to find an officer of rank who will undertake to forward my letter to the King.

All is as yet doubt and uncertainty as to what kind of a reception we will meet with. I naturally expect that every device will be used to induce us to go away.

23 May 1871

Weather clear and pleasant overhead with a low fog early in the morning. Fog gradually cleared away as the sun got up. Squadron got underweigh about 9 1/2 A.M. steering for the first regular anchorage in a sheet of water almost surrounded by islands which the Admiral has designated "Roze's Rhoades." In passing Isle Fernandez discovered something of a village on the northerly side of the island. With glasses discovered quite a number of Coreans on the hills watching our movements. Several junks in sight moving about but none have as yet displayed any inclination to come near the ships. Squadron came to anchor at 12 1/2 P.M. This P.M. the Admiral ordered the *Palos* and 4 steam launches to start tomorrow morning at daylight and survey all the passages north of where we now lie, with a view of moving the flag-ship as near to the island of Kang Hao as possible. The whole expedition to be under the command of Comdr. Blake of the *Alaska*, who is to go in the *Palos*. I have given a general letter of instructions to Capt. Blake telling what to say to the Corean officials in case any come off to inquire his business, and have sent Mr. Cowles with the expedition as interpreter.

24 May 1871

Weather clear calm and pleasant. *Palos* and steam launches started at daylight, and four boats started at 9 A.M. to take soundings in the region where we now lie, to return at night. This latter operation will be kept up in this vicinity until the return of the *Palos* and the mosquito fleet.

Today the Admiral, myself, Capt. Nichols and Mr. Pickings landed on Isle Eugenie and spent several hours. We saw no inhabitants on the island and there are evidently none residing there, although there are evidences of its having been inhabited not long since. On the beach we found innumerable small oysters clinging to the rocks: -- too small, however, for eating. Wild roses and some flowers were found everywhere we went. On the beach I picked up the top of a merchaum pipe, evidently foreign manufacture. It had been dropped probably by the French officers when surveying here in 1867. Some of the boats that were out sounding, when approaching the shore where there were congregated a number of natives, the latter fled to the hills and got out of sight. Whether it is an innate fear of their officials who prohibit intercourse or a dread of what we may do to them caused by the hostile actions of the French in 1866 it is impossible to say. I rather expect to find difficulty in communicating with the natives.

25 May 1871

Weather cool with a fresh breeze. The four surveying boats started out again this morning to take soundings. About 10 A.M. I started in the Admiral's Barge accompanied by Mr. Drew, Mr. Wheeler of the Admiral's staff, a native Corean sailor, and a full boat's crew, for a sail near the coasts of the islands with the intention, if found to be practicable, of sending the Corean on shore with Mr. Drew, to open some sort of communication with the people. We skirted the coast of the large island for some distance and found that the beach, in front of what appeared to be a large farm-house, to be studded with rocks which rendered it unsafe to land. We then proceeded up the bay where we saw several junks under sail intending to communicate with them if they showed any disposition so to do. In passing near one our Corean sailor hailed the men on board but no answer being returned concluded not to board her and thereby terrify the boatmen. It seemed the better plan to pursue our surveys quietly and thus exhibit by our acts that no harm is intended to the peaceful inhabitants. The officers in the surveying boats report that the people near where they were sounding today came down to the water's edge to watch their proceedings, and seem to be gaining confidence as to our peaceful intentions.

26 May 1871

Weather warm with light breeze. Fine weather for the surveying operations that are going on: and it is hoped the mosquito fleet will get through their explorations and return this evening. The four boats started out this morning again. At 2 P.M. I started in the Admiral's Barge accompanied by Lt. Comdr. Wheeler, Mr. Drew and the Russian Corean. Made for a little hamlet upon one of the small islands: ran up to the beach and the Corean interpreter called to the people, who were not far off, and they came down to the beach. Held a conversation with them on various matters but gathered no information worth recording. The fear the people exhibited soon after our arrival seems to be overcome by their curiositiy. The Corean which we have with us, who came from the NE part of the kingdom understands the language here perfectly; -- providing that one language is universal thoughout the country. The several surveying parties that were out today met considerable numbers of natives, all of whom with one exception, appeared friendly. Several notes written in Chinese were given to the boats inquiring where we are from, what is our business and when we are going away. In one case, they rolled stones down a hillside towards one of the boats.

27 May 1871

Weather clear with strong wind from S.S.W. Towards evening the wind increased to a gale causing the ship to draw one anchor which was out, and compelling another anchor to be let go to hold her. The mosquito fleet did not return today as we expected. Probably the hard blow detains them on the leeward side of the islands north of us.

This morning I sent Mr. Drew and the Admiral sent Capt. Nichols to the point where the written communications came from yesterday. Prior to going I had a memorandum written in Chinese which would serve as an answer to the written questions which came from the Coreans yesterday. My reply was: substantially, that the ships came from the United States of America: that our business is with the highest officials: that it is likely, we shall remain here some time in order to complete our business, and that as soon as this is settled to our staisfaction the ships will probably depart. Mr. Drew & Capt. Nichols landed and through the Corean interpreter held a conversation with the people. The Coreans professed the greatest friendship and said they were peasantry, although I am inclined to think one or more were small officials. They said it was their intention to come on board the flag ship when the [wind] went down. They may, but I doubt it.

28 May 1871

Wind this morning about same as yesterday. Too rough for the "Mosquito fleet" I think. As disappointed at this delay, as I had hoped, and rather expected, the surveying fleet back either Friday or Saturday with a report that there is water enough for the flag ship to move up to Isle Boise. I am anxious to get the flag-ship as near the Capital as possible so as to establish firmly a base of operations. No sign of people or junks in our vicinity today. Junks would hardly venture out with this rough sea on. In the afternoon wind lulled considerably. Towards night began to look anxiously for the mosquito fleet to make its appearance. At 8 P.M. went below, gave up all hope of seeing it tonight. Half an hour later officer came down and reported *Palos* in sight. She arrived with the four steam-launches in tow and came to anchor about 9 P.M. Capt. Blake and Mr. Cowles came on board and reported that their trip had been successful. Found plenty of water for the whole squadron as far as Isle Boise. They had no communication with people on shore. Saw a large crowd at a town near Isle Boise who seemed very much alarmed at the appearance of our vessels. Orders were immediately sent to the other ships to get underweigh at 9 1/2 A.M. tomorrow.

29 May 1871

Morning foggy and disagreeable. After the sun got up the fog began to clear up so that the order to get underway, given last night, was not countermanded. The ships did not however get ready to start until 10 1/4 A.M. Steamed along northward without trouble and without finding any scarcity of water for the largest vessels. Many officers on board taking "angles" to assist in correcting the charts, and all the vessels making exact soundings. Great attention is being paid to surveys and sounding by which charts will be made and corrected, which will prove of great advantage to navigators who have occasion to visit this coast. It is to be hoped that our expeditions may not be entirely fruitless, and that its results may prove a lasting benefit to the Coreans and the civilized world.

At 2 P.M. thick fog shut in so we could not see the vessels ahead of the flag-ship, and the Admiral ordered a gun to be fired -- a signal for the squadron to come to anchor. Our expectation of reaching Isle Boise and establishing a "base of operations" today is defeated, much to my disappointment and that of every one on board.

30 May 1871

Thick fog again this morning but I am hoping that when the sun gets higher it will burn off. One P.M. is the hour designated to get underway. Soon after that hour the fog began to clear away and the signal was made to the other ships "up anchor." All got underway and steamed northward toward Isle Boise which we reached safely about 4 P.M. and anchored in plenty of water a little to the northward of Isle Boise. Something of a town on an island west of Boise has a straggling wall around it built many years ago and now much dilapidated. The people on the western island seemed to be much alarmed at the approach of the vessels. A large number of people could be seen fleeing from the coast towards the country taking many cattle with them. Soon after anchoring a native boat made its appearance near the flag-ship; one of the persons in the boat standing up holding a letter in his hand and making motions for someone to come off and get it. Mr. Drew went off, got the note, and invited the people on board, which invitation they accepted. The note purported to be from three officials on shore near here who had been sent by the King to meet and confer with me. I returned a reply saying that my business would only be made known to a high official. Mr. Drew verbally sent an invitation for the three to come.

31 May 1871

Weather clear and pleasant. In the morning early a white flag stuck upon a pole on the beach near Gurreire Island, and on examining it through a glass a large paper covered apparently with Chinese characters, was appended to the same pole. I sent Mr. Drew on shore to examine it, and if found to be a communication respectful and friendly in tone to bring it on board, otherwise to disfigure and leave it. It was found to be a communication from the Chefoo of the district asking the usual questions, as to where we are from, what is our business, etc., etc.

About 11 A.M. the three officials, who wrote the note that came yesterday, came along side. They came on board and had a conversation with Mr. Drew, Mr. Cowles and Lt. Comdr. Wheeler. They said the King had sent them to inquire into our business, etc. They were informed that the business was important and could only be made known to an official of high rank equal to our Minister and that the official must come with some written authority from the King. They were anxious to see the Admiral & myself and evidently wanted to say that the King did not desire to make a treaty for trade. Mr. Drew informed them that he was not authorized to discuss any points of negociation: that the three officials were not high enough for the Minister to meet and that all matters must rest until a higher person was sent who could communicate with our Minister. They were also told that a surveying expedition would start today for Kang Hoa or beyond.

1 June 1871

Today has been rather an eventful one.

This morning the weather was clear, calm and pleasant. A shower came up about 10 A.M. but cleared off again by 11 A.M. The Admiral organized an expedition to proceed to or beyond Kang Hoa to survey and sound the channel. The fleet consisted of the *Monocacy*, *Palos* and the four steam-launches. It started at 10 1/2 A.M. under the general command of Capt. Blake. His instructions from the Admiral to proceed in a peaceful manner, avoiding in all ways giving offense, and making no attack unless attacked by the Coreans. If attacked without provocation to return the fire and destroy the place and people that fired upon his vessels. All was peaceable until the fleet reached a sharp angle in the river put down on the French charts as *Fort du Coude*, when masked batteries, composed of some heavy guns but mostly of gingalls opened a very sharp fire upon the vessels and launches from both sides of the river. The vessels and launches returned the fire and silenced the batteries and passed on a short distance beyond. In the turn of the river it was found difficult to steer the vessels owing to the rapid and varying current, and the *Monocacy* struck a rock knocking a hole in her bottom. Capt. McRea thinking it imprudent to proceed on in the condition his vessel then was, the whole expedition returned safely and anchored near the flag ship at 5 1/2 P.M. The vessels and launches were not injured by the shots of the enemy, none were killed and only two were wounded: --- one by the recoil of a gun on the *Palos* and one by a piece of a shell.

2 June 1871

Weather foggy in the morning but cleared up pleasantly about 10 A.M. Yesterday afternoon after the damage to the *Monocacy* had been examined it was decided that could be repaired so as to fit for action service again without beaching. I gave it as my opinion that although the Navy gained a substantial victory yesterday, it would not do to withdraw without seeking retaliation, for if we did the Coreans would construe our victory as a defeat which would be damaging to the prestige of our Government both here and in China. I advised that, if the Admiral considered his force adequate, that a sufficient number of men, who would be able, by the aid of the smaller vessels and launches, to land at the point where the vessels were attacked yesterday, and effectually destroy the enemy's works, guns, etc. After that was done the force should move on up taking and destroying all the forts on both sides of the channel as far as the north end of the Island of Kanghoa. The Admiral decided to carry out the first part of the programme and after that was accomplished, to then decide upon future operations. He fixed upon this morning as the time when the expedition was to move. Later in the evening upon consultation with Capt. Blake and Commander McCrea it was deemed advisable to postpone the attack until neap tides which will be in about 6 or 8 days. I quite agreed to the arrangement as the delay will give ample time for the [Korean] Government to disavow and apologise for the attack and open negociations.

3 June 1871

Weather clear and temperature quite warm. It has been the warmest day we have experienced since leaving Shanghai. Have been busy writing despatches and letters all day and so has everybody else. The *Palos* leaves tomorrow morning for Chefoo to take the mail. Capt. Boswell goes over in her and will proceed on to Shanghai with orders from the Admiral to charter the Steamer *Millet* or some other one of her class, load her with coal and return with dispatch to this anchorage. The *Palos* will return from Chefoo with coal, provisions, and the incoming mail. Orders also went over for coal and provisions to be sent from Hong Kong to Chefoo. The Admiral sent a telegram, in addition to his despatches, to the Secy of the Navy, detailing the operations thus far and asking for an increase in force. I sent a telegram to the Secy of State and also despatches Nos. 70 and 71. Mr. Cowles also went over in the *Palos* and will return in her. As the Admiral thinks it may be advisable to divide the fleet in future operations more interpreters may be required. At his request I wrote to Augustine Heard & Co. for Mr. Pethick to come over if he was willing and could be spared by the firm. The proposed attack will be made by land force in conjunction with the vessels and launches. Capt. Blake will, as before, have command of the forces afloat & Commander Kimberly those on the land. Wrote letters to Mrs. Low, Dr. Williams, Mr. G.F. Seward, Mr. Wilson & Mr. Howell, Chefoo, and Mr. Wade, Peking.

4 June 1871

Weather in the morning foggy, but cleared off by 10 A.M. *Palos* left for Chefoo at 2 1/2 A.M. Divine service on boat at 10 1/2 A.M. previous to which the whole of the officers and crew were assembled on deck for inspection. As the inspection goes into the detail of everything, -- cleanliness, clothing, etc., all the men appeared in their best. It appears to be a settled rule in the Navy that a general inspection must take place the first Sunday in each month whether at sea or in port; the role is called in full and every man must be present to answer to his name or some officer must answer for him: for instance the Surgeon answers for those that are sick and wounded and the Officer of the Deck answers for those necessarily on duty and the prisoners. The afternoon was warm and pleasant. Prepared a note in reply to one received yesterday from the Prefect. It will be sent in the name of Mr. Drew. A stake on Guerriere Island is the Post Office through which the correspondence of this official passes. His note was rather threatening in its character: mine in reply was firm in tone at the same time leaving a wide door open for negociation. I gave five or six days for peaceful overtures to come, after which the Admiral and myself would feel at liberty to do as we pleased. It may lead to some good results but I doubt it.

5 June 1871

Weather clear, bright and warm. The sun today made it uncomfortable when exposed to its full force. Mr. Drew and Confucius at work putting my note of yesterday into Chinese which I hope to get ready to deposit in the special "post office" this evening. Capt. Blake & Commander Kimberly came on board today, to whom the Admiral explained his probable future movements. Yesterday and the day before we could see by the aid of glasses the people at work on the hills on the mainland just a few miles below, evidently repairing old or building new fortifications. Also saw considerable numbers of men on the hills which appeared to be soldiers drilling. Officers of the ships report that lights are seen at various times through the nights on the hills near here which appear to be signals from one hill to the other. The Admiral ordered the two steam launches to be ready so as to leave at 2 P.M. and run southward and around Roze's Island so as to get a better view of the fortifications which the Coreans appear to be at work upon. They made the trip as instructed and reported the fortifications to be insignificant, built evidently to cover the road leading to Seoul and not to oppose an attack from the sea. Saw three or four pieces of artillery only. Finished note and put it in the "post office." Was immediately taken.

6 June 1871

Weather clear and warm. Seems to feel like summer. Awnings spread fore & aft. Nothing occurred today of special interest. All the force designed to go to "Fort du Coude" assembled on deck arrayed in martial uniform, which consisted of white canvas gaiters in addition to the usual sailor dress. Battalion drill was gone through with which did great credit to both officers and men. Sailors are brave, the only drawback when they are landed to take the part of soldiers being that it is hard to hold them back and make them act together. Their bravery and recklessness is the weakest spot in their characters. In the afternoon the Barge was sent to the beach where a number of Coreans daily assemble at low water to gather clams. Mr. Drew and the Russian-Corean went along to try and have a talk with these ignorant people, not expecting to obtain any valuable information, but rather to disabuse their minds as to our hostile intentions, so long as we were treated civilly. The people whom they met sold them all the clams they had but as soon as the trade was completed walked away thus declining all conversation as far as possible. In another place where the Barge landed some natives came and had a talk with our people. They begged us to go away, as our presence here stopped all fishing and labor, which hindered the poor people from obtaining their daily food.

7 June 1871

Clear, warm and beautiful. Thermometer about 70 degrees in the shade. About 9 A.M. a junk appeared near the ship evidently desiring to communicate with the squadron. The *Alaska* sent a boat & towed the junk alongside the flag-ship. It brought 3 bullocks, 50 chickens & 1000 eggs as a present to me from the Guardian of Kang-Hoa Prefecture and Ex-officio Governor and General. A letter from the same official, enclosing copy of one from the King to the Board of Rites, Peking, in reply to mine written at that place. The men in the Junk professed to be merchants, although it is likely they were attaches of the high official. The letter appeared to be written in a polite manner, reitterating the same old story: that Corea is poor, has no trade, and desires no intercourse with the outside world. Soon after this junk came, a flag and letter was seen at the "post office" on Guerriere Island. This proved to be a letter from the Guardian General of Foo Ping Prefecture in reply to Mr. Drew's sent on shore on the 5th, saying that he had sent to his official superior, which is the General & Governor of Kang Hoa, Mr. D's letter, as the matters referred to were of too grave a nature for him to discuss. It would appear that our letter of the 5th brought out this one from Kang Hoa. The firing upon the vessels instead of being disavowed was tacitly approved, and intimated that force would always be resorted to to prevent vessels going above here. Mr. Drew returned a reply that three or four days yet remained in which peaceful negociations are possible, after which the Admiral and myself would feel at liberty to adopt any course we may see fit. I declined to receive the presents and sent them back. The men who brought the letter said that several Coreans were killed and "many tens wounded" in the engagement of the 1st.

8 June 1871

Weather warm & clear. Atmosphere unusually pure enabling one to see farther and more distinctly than any day since our arrival. No letters of messengers came today from the authorities or the people. By the aid of a glass the fortifications on the top of the hill at the place where our vessels were attacked could be distinctly made out, and also the yellow flag which is supposed to be that of the Command General. Farther North on a higher hill two large trees and a portion of a city wall could be seen, supposed to be part of the wall around the city of Kang-Hoa. Active preparations going on for the movement which will be made soon after the *Palos* returns.

At 6 P.M. while at dinner a steamer reported as coming in from seaward supposed to be the *Palos* from Chefoo, which proved to be correct. She came to anchor about 7 1/2 P.M. Mr. Cowles returned in her, with the mails, and fresh provisions for the fleet. I rec'd letters from Mrs. Low and others but nothing from Washington or Peking. I presume that the Department despatches must have been forwarded to the Legation Peking by the Consul General. The *Palos*, when about 25 miles east of Shantung Promontory, picked a boat containing the captain and part of the crew of a North German schooner wrecked and totally lost on "Sir James Hall's" group of islands off the coast of Corea.

9 June 1871

Weather clear, and a little cooler than yesterday. In the afternoon strong breeze with squalls of rain. Towards evening it cleared off and promises a good day tomorrow. All are busy preparing for tomorrow. As the time draws near to start I observe a change in tone and appearance of most of the officers. They are not as eager to go as they were the day after the last fight. Time has been given for reflection, and their passions have cooled. They have counted the possible loss and gain, and I fancy the latter is not likely to prove much in any event. This is but human and indicates no lack of courage. They undoubtedly say to themselves and to one another what are we risking our lives for? Is Corea worth a single life? I have no fear of the result of tomorrow's operations, and I hope our forces will escape unharmed. I do not feel confident of the final result however. If we are obliged to stop after taking this fort and most thoroughly destroying it, I doubt if this will bring the [Korean] Government to terms but it may. It is certainly worth the effort, looking at it from any point of view.

10 June 1871

Early in the morning weather foggy. As the sun got up it cleared off the fog making it bright, -- clear and warm. At 9 1/2 o'clock A.M. all the men from the flag-ship and the two corvettes embarked in boats, -- about 600 altogether -- to act as a landing party. The vessels and steam-launches got underway soon after 10 A.M., it being the Admiral's intention to have the landing party reach their point of destination soon after the tide began to ebb. The *Monocacy* took the lead, flanked by a steam-launch on each bow, the *Palos* and the other steam-launches following with all the boats and launches in tow of the *Palos*. Mr. Drew accompanied Capt. Blake as my representative and to act as interpreter if necessity should require. Soon after rounding the point which shut her out from view from our ship, the *Monocacy* opened fire, which appeared to be kept up briskly for some time. The hazy condition of the atmosphere prevented seeing a long distance, and the report of the guns was much less distinct than on the former occasion. The Admiral, Capt. Nichols, myself, and Mr. Cowles went on board the *Benicia* hoping to see and hear better, but found little difference. The firing ceased during the afternoon, but was resumed again towards evening. No news received of success or reverse. I hope for the former. In the evening a Corean junk came alongside.

Mr. Cowles went on board and found 10 Coreans who said they were Catholics and were looking for 3 French priests who they expected were on their way here. After interrogating them and satisfying himself of their honesty, Mr. Cowles took them on board ship to question them farther tomorrow.

11 June 1871

Weather clear and warm. We can see smoke of powder and shells bursting, but owing to the peculiar state of the atmosphere can only hear the report now and then of one of the heavy guns. Dense volumes of smoke indicate that forts or villages are burning but beyond this nothing is known. All are in a state of great anxiety about the success of the expedition. About 12 N. *Benicia* telegraphed "our men in lower fort." Capt. Nichols and I went up to the *Benicia* about one P.M. From her deck the main fort could be seen: and we found when we got there that the citadel of that fort had been taken and our flag had taken the place of that of the Generalissimo. Shortly after, we could see the first blazing in the fort followed by the explosion of the magazine. Dense volumes of smoke are rising all over the point where *Fort du Coude*stands and we conclude our men are making a "clean sweep" of all combustible material within their reach.

About 4 P.M. a boat from the *Palos* arrived with a report from Capt. Blake to the Admiral saying that our men took and destroyed the lower forts yesterday. Today they shelled from the vessels and attacked by land and stormed *Fort du Coude*, and that the victory is complete; 180 dead had been found, the wounded could not be stated, and a large number of prisoners had been taken. Capt. Blake reports 2 men of his killed and 5 wounded, among the latter Lt. Comdr. McKee of the *Colorado*. The Admiral ordered the whole expedition to return tomorrow.

12 June 1871

Weather clear, warm and pleasant. All is expectation this morning, looking for the return of the heroes of yesterday. The *Monocacy* & *Palos*came in sight round the point at 10 A.M. and the whole arrived at the anchorage about noon. As the vessels came down filled with people, with the empty boats in tow, the former covered with the captured flags and banners of the enemy, presented a queer sight. As the *Monocacy* neared the *Benicia* the latter cheered the conquering heroes which was returned with a will. The cheering was then taken up by the *Alaska* and followed by the *Colorado*. As soon as a boat came off to us our joy at the glorious victory was saddened at the news of poor McKee's death. His wounds proved to be fatal and he died last evening a 5:45 o'clock. His remains are embalmed and will be sent home. All accounts agree that the Coreans fought with courage and a desperation rarely to be found in any nation. The superiority of our small arms and artillery alone saved us from disaster. With modern arms and artillery the Coreans will stand against equal numbers of any country. As an instance of their desperate fighting 108 dead bodies were counted in the citadel at the fort -- a place 75 feet in diameter. The best estimates place the number of killed at not less than 300; the wounded could scarcely be estimated. Only about 25 prisoners were brought away, some of whom are wounded. In the evening a note from the Magistrate of Foo-Ping-foo was found. Its temper & tone is angry indicating that he feels that they have been whipped badly.

13 June 1871

Weather warm and beautiful. Exposure to the sun in the middle of the day is uncomfortable although not unpleasant in the shade. The nights are cool. All have been busy today cleaning up and putting things to rights on board the ships. The wounded Coreans have all been kindly cared for and as they appeared anxious to get among their own people it was decided to send them on shore if their own people would come and take them away. Mr. Cowles went on shore with a letter from the wounded official. He took on shore with him one of the prisoners who was slightly wounded to tell his story and assure his people of their safety in case they would come in a junk for the wounded. Towards evening a junk came off and took away all the wounded. The old man expressed great gratitude for the kindness shown him and appeared to be happily disappointed at finding such kindness and generosity exhibited towards the people that fell into our hands. The letter of the Magistrate received yesterday is written evidently in a high state of excitement. He complains bitterly of the rough usage his people received and evidently draws a wide distinction between whipping and being whipped. I have prepared a letter for the King informing him of my readiness to enter upon negociations. I intimate that our wrongs and insults are redressed and a new point of departure has been reached. In the evening the chief officers of the late expedition and Mr. Drew and Mr. Cowles dined with the Admiral.

14 June 1871

Weather clear in the morning but became cloudy and cool towards evening. Last evening a paper stuck on a stake on Gurriere Island informed Mr. Drew that the Prefect of Foo-Ping-foo desired an answer to his last communication. I have prepared one in the same tone as the one to the King to send by the first conveyance that comes. I shall send the one for the King to the same Magistrate to forward unless the Kang-Hoa magistrate should send down a messenger, in which case I shall send it to him.

Mr. Cowles has been interviewing the Corean prisoners today but their information is evidently very meagre even if they should tell the truth.

Evidence if obtained from them is limited, and not to be relied upon except corroborated by other testimony either direct or circumstantial. From all I can see and learn the Corean peasants and common soldiers are very low in the scale of intellect, and without any education whatever. The autocratic power of the officials render the status of the people serfs or slaves. No personal responsibility is assumed and of course there is no freedom of individual action. As soldiers they are mere automatons doing the bidding of their superiors. What we commonly call courage is in them mere stolidity and indifference to death. Human life is considered of little value, and soldiers, educated as they have been, meet death with the same indifference as the Indians of North America do.

15 June 1871

Weather clear and warm in the morning: cloudy and sultry in the afternoon. towards night squally and rainy. It has the appearance of a S.E. storm coming on.

Got up at 5 1/2 A.M. and the Admiral and I took an early start for a walk on Boise Island. We landed and climbed to the top of the island from which a good view is obtained in all directions. The island is covered with a growth of pine trees, not thick but evidently of considerable age. The wall or fortification seen from the ships is a stone wall laid up in clay and coated originally with lime mortar on the top. It has no appearance of age, and it is not improbable that it was built about the time of the French expedition in 1866 or after they had left. It is merely a breastwork behind which people can stand with safety and fire gingalls southward.

Upon our return we saw a small junk near Guerriere Island with a large number of people on board. We rowed over towards her when one of the men began to make signs to us holding a letter up in his hand. We concluded not to board her and while returning the the ship met one of the boats with Mr. Cowles in her going off. He returned bringing a note from the Prefect of Foo-Ping-foo to me saying that the Magistrate of Kang-Hoa had been degraded for their defeat on the 11th and that my note in regard to the prisoners had not been sent on for that reason. We said we could do as we choose with the prisoners.

16 June 1871

Weather stormy with strong wind last night. Blew very heavy during the early part of the night, but this morning it is clear. The weather, however, does not look settled. The *Millet* is looked for with considerable anxiety, for she is fully due, provided Capt. Boswell was able to charter her upon his arrival in Shangai.

Early this morning the junk with the Corean Christians on board returned. They report having been southward about 100 miles; of having all been arrested by some official but by the aid of the money which the Admiral gave them all were released except one. Having been in the contrary direction to the scene of the late battle of course they heard little news. Today I let Mr. Drew take in hand and question them, to test the accuracy of the stories told to Mr. Cowles.

From all their evidence I am entirely satisfied that they are Christians and semi-outlaws in their own country. Two of the number were with the French Expedition in 1866, and three were with Jenkins in 1868 when he came on the *Resurrection* expedition. They are ignorant, and of course very little information can be gained from them that can be counted reliable enough to base any action upon. Out of the mass of evidence obtainable some facts may be gathered which will prove of value.

17 June 1871

Weather clear, warm and pleasant. While at breakfast steamer reported in sight bound in. It proved to be the *Millet* which we had expected for some days. She brought coal and provisions, together with officers, guns and ammunition from the *Ashuelot*. By her I rec'd a letter from Mrs. Low and one from Mr. Seward. The news of our first engagement appeared to excite interest in Shanghai and the whole affair was pretty fully reported in the newspapers.

In the forenoon a part of Coreans appeared on the shore of Guerriere Island with a letter. Mr. Cowles was sent on shore to see the people and get what they had. It proved to be a letter from the Prefect of Foo-Ping-foo returning my letter directed to the King which I sent two days ago to this Magistrate with the request that he would send it on to the Capital. In his note received this morning he says that he is placed near here charged with civil jurisdiction and to defend his Prefecture from all who may give trouble whether within or without. He says that it does not come within his province to send despatches to the King and he dare not do it. He intimates very distinctly that further correspondence will be useless, and that they are prepared "to fight it out on this line." It now seems pretty clear that all attempts at negociation will be frstrated, and that it is simply a question of force if they are to be made to treat.

18 June 1871

Weather hazy, warm and sultry, in the morning. Towards evening a breeze sprung up which rendered the temperature more comfortable. Attended church on board at 10 A.M. Yesterday I prepared a letter for Mr. Drew to send in his own name to the Prefect, in which complaint is made of his action in declining to send my despatch to the King. He is asked to reconsider his determination and either send my despatch or inform the King that it is my desire to communicate with him: and then if he declines to receive my communication it will leave the Admiral and myself free to pursue such course as we may deem proper to bring my business to his notice, and also prove to the nations of Europe as well as the United States that the Government of Corea persistently declines to entertain any proposition which a Minister of a friendly power is sent to make. Although I expect little or no good to result from this yet it is my duty, I conceive, to exhaust all resources in the attempt at peaceful negociation. All my information and experience goes to prove that the Government had fully decided to reject all our overtures for a treaty without reference to what might be asked. If we had remained quietly here we would have been beguiled by "glittering generalities" in regard to friendliness, etc., etc. and which would finally have ended in an absolute refusal to treat. The hostile measures which were inaugurated by them only hastened the end which would have been the same in any case.

19 June 1871

Weather clear and pleasant. Fresh breeze from the N.W. renders the temperature today much pleasanter than yesterday. Nothing has occurred today of note. No communications either to or from the Coreans. A Court-Martial assembled today on board the flag-ship for the trial of sundry offences of the petty officers and crews of the squadron.

Capt. Blake reported to me today that from his ship the Coreans could be distinctly seen engaged in repairing the fort where they met great defeat. Capt. B. thinks they have learned a lesson which will be of great advantage to them and damaging to any nation that undertakes to conquer this country. Like the Chinese the people of this country only prepared to defend one side. In the construction of their forts the rear is universally left unprotected. Attacking the forts in the rear with a land force evidently created surprise and disarranged their plan of defence. If Capt. Blake is correct in his observations they are constructing works in the rear of the fort, which if true will render it much more formidable than it was before. I doubt however, if one disaster will teach so valuable a lesson unless the Coreans are much more prone to adopt and act upon new ideas than the Chinese; for the latter have left the rear of the Taku forts undefended notwithstanding their experience in 1860.

20 June 1871

Weather cool and pleasant. In the forenoon messenger appeared on Guerriere Island with white flag and letter from the Prefect of Foo-Ping-foo in reply to my last one again requesting him to send on my despatch to the King or inform him that I desired to communicate with the Court. His answer is the same old story over again, that has been repeated until it is entirely familiar to all who ever heard or have read about China and the East. He says again that his duties are so well and particularly defined that he would incur severe censure if not punishment in case he should so far overstep the bounds of propriety as to send a despatch from any person to the Court; and he ventures to suggest that it is quite against the proprieties of the occasion for a Minister to address His Majesty direct. He then goes on to repeat the story about the loss of the Schooner *General Sherman*; that he supposes my principal business is to be to inquire about this affair and provide against a recurrence of such cases in the future, etc., etc. He says that there need not be any apprehension about the safety of sailors cast away on these shores because they will be kindly treated and sent home. It is not necessary he says to make treaties about this or any other matter. Corea has adopted Jeff Davis' motto during the late [Civil] war, "I want to be left alone."

21 June 1871

We had a drizzling rain last night but it cleared off warm this morning.

The question I am debating in my own mind now is, whether or not there remains any chance of accomplishing anything by remaining longer here. I am fully convinced that all peaceful overtures will be rejected, and also that no hostile demonstration will bring this country to terms. Its rulers care nothing for the lives of its people and the sacrifice of any number at the outposts will not cause the Court to waver in its determination to hold out against all inovations. So long as the Capital remains intact all offensive operations that may be taken against the country will be of no avail. If this be true the Capital must be taken and the King either captured or driven from it before any favorable result can be expected. It is plainly apparent to me that the force now here is unequal to the task, and in the opinion the Admiral concurs. I am now inclined to think we shall be obliged to withdraw, report the state of affairs to our Government and leave it to the decision of the President whether forces will be furnished to put it through. I have prepared a letter to send on shore whenever I conclude to depart.

In the afternoon the Admiral, myself, Mr. Drew and Mr. Fisher went on shore on Boise Island and took a walk.

22 June 1871

Weather clear and warm. No signs of rain. The Admiral is getting the coal out of the *Millet* preparatory to sending her back to Shanghai. I see no probability of making her useful in the way of offensive operations. It seems useless to undertake farther hostile measures without seeing clearly beforehand that the main object will be accomplished. We now occupy a good position. The Coreans commenced an unprovoked attack upon our vessels. That wrong has been fully redressed with small cost to ourselves, and with great damage to the enemy. It seems useless to hazard another encounter without seeing some permanent good to come from it. If we send the vessels to survey the northern passage to the Seoul River they would most likely meet with a hostile reception from the forts in that vicinity; and if they were attacked there we could not leave with safety or credit until after redress had been sought and obtained. If we do not go there the Coreans will naturally believe that this passage will be the one we will seek in any future attempt, and will be likely to bend all their energies to strengthen the defences on Salle river. If the vessels should go north even though they did not approach near enough to bring on an attack, they would be seen which would probably lead to strengthening the defences on the north side of Kang-Hoa Island.

23 June 1871

Weather clear, warm and pleasant. The Admiral has determined to send the *Millet* to Shanghai tomorrow morning. I have today written to Dr. Williams giving a full resume of events that have transpired since last I wrote him on 2d inst. I have sent this letter open to Mr. Seward for him to read and then send on to Peking. I also sent a telegram for Secretary of State to Mr. Seward as follows: "Recent demonstration produced no effect on negociations. Nothing can be effected short of capital. Force insufficient to go there without great risk. If peaceful measures fail shall withdraw and wait instructions." I have now little hope and no expectation of being able to bring the government to discuss any matter, much more to enter into any kind of treaty. The officers of the fleet have got a general idea that we will leave about the 1st of July. I see no purpose in waiting longer unless something occurs between now and then to change the aspect of things. Beato, the photographic artist, goes away on the *Millet*. Also the nine Christian Coreans. Beato came on board yesterday and took my picture alone, and also a group composed of myself, Drew and Cowles. He also took the Admiral alone, and several of the officers, men, flags, etc., etc. Wrote to Mrs. Low and Flora to send by the *Millet* also a note to Mr. Seward.

24 June 1871

Weather clear and warm. *Millet* left this morning for Shanghai. Her departure with the arms which she brought from the *Ashuelot* tended to convince all the officers and men in the fleet in the opinion that further operations are not contemplated. So far as I know there [is] no officer of any prominence in the fleet who thinks it prudent to undertake farther offensive operations with the force now here. The dangers of navigation are so great that any attempt to move towards Seoul would involve the disabling if not the total loss of one or more vessels of light draught of water, they are therefore the only ones that can even go as far a Kanghoa Island by either the northern or southern channel. The disabling or loss of either of these vessels would defeat any offensive movement probably, which might involve the lives of a great many people.

In the afternoon the junk left by the Christian Coreans was towed to and beached on Boise island at high water and set on fire. This was done at their special request so that her number could not be ascertained. They feared, if the officials got the number of the junk, that the ownership might be traced, which would cause the destruction of their families and relatives.

25 June 1871

It commenced raining last night. This morning it was rainy and with the exception of spells of lighting up has continued to rain during the day. Attended church on board at 10 A.M. The attendance at church is not large. No complusion or even pursuasion is used to induce the men or officers to attend. The Chaplain may be & probably is a good man. He has however no force or dignity of character which inspires respect, and therefore his influence amounts to little. Nothing new has occurred today. No sign of promise from the Coreans.

26 June 1871

Weather rainy and blowing hard. I fear the *Millet* is having a rough time of it on her passage over.

No change in the status of affairs. All the boats of the ship were out this morning exercising by signal. It is quite surprising to witness such precision in evolutions, directed simply by hoisting flags on the ship. The drill of the boats equalled the drill of soldiers in the field. "Jack's" place is on board a vessel or in a boat. On shore, as a soldier he is brave enough; -- even reckless, but the difficulty is it is hard to command him and keep a company together.

I have commenced to write my final despatches to the Department, and my parting respects to the Coreans. I have now no idea that there will be any change in the status of affairs and the more I think of it the less inclination I feel to go farther without instructions from the Government.

If I had the force adequate for the task, so that I would feel reasonably sure of success, I should not hesitate to go to the Capital and try what effect that would have upon negociations. No movement short of that would produce the least effect.

27 June 1871

Weather overcast with drizzling rain. Yesterday the steam launches were hoisted in, which assures everybody that we will leave here before long. I have decided that if by the 1st of July no favorable symptoms show themselves I shall not advise any farther delay. We are so cut off from the world, that if anything should occur which would require my presence or that of the Admiral in China, and our absence would endanger the lives and property of our citizens, we would be culpable in remaining here after all hope of accomplishing anything had vanished. This is an important consideration that cannot be overlooked. And, beside, if the thing is abandoned and given up as a bad job before the departure of the next American mail, the news will reach Washington in season for arrangements to be made for active operations next spring if the Government so decides. It is now clear that any expedition which shall include a land force, sent against Corea, should reach the coast as early as the 1st of May. This would give two months of pleasant and dry weather. The rainy season here evidently corresponds with that of the North of China. It commences the latter part of June and ends with August. During the rainy season the rain and heat would interfere with land operations seriously.

28 June 1871

Early in the morning foggy and sultry. In the forenoon fog cleared away and the sun came out bright and hot. Thermometer reached a higher point today than any time since our arrival: and still it was under 80 degrees in the shade on board ship. It would I think have marked 90 degrees in the shade on shore. In the afternoon I made official calls on board the different ships. I was accompanied by Mr. Drew, Mr. Cowles, and Lt. Comdr. Wheeler of the Admiral's staff. The *Alaska* & *Benicia* each fired the regulation salute of 15 guns upon my departure from the vessel. The *Palos* and *Monocacy* not being of a size to constitute them saluting vessels according to Navy Regulations, no salutes were fired from them when they were visited. This visit I have delayed until the present time for public reasons. After our arrival at this anchorage I did not deem it wise for the vessels to salute as the Coreans would not understand it and might construe this courtesy shown to me into a demonstration of offence against them and thus embarrass friendly negotiations; and I postponed an outward show of anything like a hostile attitude, except to redress unprovoked wrongs, until it became evident that professions of amity and good will utterly fail to produce any effect.

29 June 1871

Weather rainy and sultry. From the slight indications in sight from the vessels it seems clear that the arable land in Corea produces two crops each year; on small pieces of land under cultivation on the islands the grain crop is being harvested. As soon as the grain is cut the land is immediately ploughed and plants set out -- evidently a root crop of some kind. Although the rainy season sets in about the same time it does in the North of China -- the latter part of June -- and probably continues about the same length of time, it is probable that the situation of Corea, surrounded as it is on three sides by the sea -- there must be much more moisture in the air during the dry season than in the North of China, but whether poorer or not cannot be determined with our scanty means of information. I am inclined believe, however, that the country is much better than generally supposed, and if it had a decent government, which would afford any guarantee that the laborer would receive the fruits of his toil an entire change would be wrought and the country become flourishing. No incentive is now offered, for the officials levy contributions and absorb all the surplus wealth.

30 June 1871

Weather clear and hot. The Admiral started this morning on an inspecting tour to the other ships. He visited the *Monocacy* in the forenoon and the *Alaska* in the afternoon. About 2 1/2 P.M. a steamer of some kind was reported in sight, supposed to be a steam-launch. Everybody was anxious to learn what it was and what were its purposes, and the speculations indulged in covered the whole field of possibilities as well as probabilities. It proved to be the steam-launch belong to the North German man-of-war *Hertha* anchored in Rozes Rhoads.

The Lieutenant who came in command of the launch reported that the *Hertha* left Chefoo on the 27th June: that the cause of her coming was a rumor current in Chefoo said to have been brought from Newchwang by a Chinese Junk, to the effect that three of our vessels had been sunk by the Coreans and that the others were hemmed in with little chance of escape. The story was too absurd for belief in its entirety, but the Commander of the *Hertha* thought that he might possibly be able to afford some assistance by taking away our wounded, etc., etc., and started to find our fleet. He anchored his ship near Eugenie Island and sent his steam-launch to find Admiral Rodgers with instructions to offer any service he could render. He reports a large English and French force in Chefoo. By this conveyance I received a letter from Mrs. Low.

This is my birthday. Away from home and my family, there are no pleasant associations connected with this birthday.

1 July 1871

Weather overcast, drizzly and sultry. The launch from the *Hertha* started at 6 A.M. to return to the ship. In addition to the report mentioned yesterday, the pilot that came over in the *Hertha* says, that he started in a small lorcha loaded with stores and provisions about the middle of June to come over to the fleet on a trading expedition. He reached the vicinity of Eugenie Island in four days from Chefoo, when somewhere in that vicinity, the exact place he is not quite certain about, several Corean junks came out and attacked the boat, firing several shots at her which went through the boats' sails but fortunately injured no one. They showed such determined hostility that although within sight of the masts of our fleet the Captain concluded it was dangerous to try and reach our anchorage at Boise Island, and turned round and went back to Chefoo. From the action of the junks those on board the lorcha concluded that it was not so much the desire of the Coreans to drive the lorcha off as to capture her. It is likely that the Coreans used no other weapons than gingalls & matchlocks. So far as I know or can learn they have no war junks armed with artillery although it would be easy to arm junks with the breech-loading brass pieces such as were found in the forts.

2 July 1871

Weather overcast in the morning, drizzling in the afternoon, and hard rain in the evening. Attended church at 10 A.M. Chaplain preached a sermon conerning the Devil which might have passed current fifty or seventy-five years ago, but which hardly comes up to the enlightened intelligence of the present day. It seems strange that preachers in this our day will continue in the same old rut. Setting down as facts what they cannot possibly be presumed to believe, and which no one else does. The Episcopal Church it seems to me is anti-progressive: glorying in its antiquity and holding fast to dogma, forms and customs that are far behind the enlightenment of the age in which we live. I regret to be compelled to say that in all the sermons it has been my fortune to listen to in Episcopal churches there was a bushel of chaff to one grain of wheat. In the afternoon the Captains of all the vessels were assembled on board to receive directions. All the vessels will keep company until we sight Shantung promontory, then if the weather is good the *Monocacy* and *Palos* will go direct to Shanghai to repair damages and the others will go to Chefoo. The remains of poor McKee were transferred to the *Monocacy* in the afternoon for shipment to his mother in Kentucky. Funeral services was read on board the *Colorado* before the remains were removed. If clear weather we shall start tomorrow morning at 6 o'clock.

3 July 1871

Weather pleasant. Was awakened this morning about 4 o'clock by the band playing "Shoo-fly." This is the favorite tune that is played when the crew is heaving up the anchor. From this I knew in advance that the weather admitted of our departure, notwithstanding its threatening and stormy condition last evening. We started at 6 A.M.: -- the *Palos* and *Monocacy* leading, followed by the *Benicia* & *Alaska* with the *Colorado* bringing up the rear. Nothing occurred worthy of notice until we reached Ferriere Islands.

After passing these islands and getting out to sea the squadron forms in line of sailing: the *Colorado* ahead, the *Monocacy* and *Palos* next, and the *Benicia* & *Alaska* astern. In the afternoon the *Palos* signalled that she was steering badly on account of the damage to her rudder, received while engaged in the expedition of 10 & 11th June and requested permission to go on the starboard quarter. She & the *Monocacy* changed positions & so did the *Benicia* & *Alaska*. The *Benicia* was signalled to be prepared to take the *Palos* in tow in case she became unmanageable in steering. Weather warm and a little hazy. In the evening the full moon shone, bright & beautiful. I hope we may reach Chefoo tomorrow.

4 July 1871

Weather clear, calm and beautiful. the sea as smooth as glass. Scarcely a ripple on the water and no perceptible motion to the ship. About noon sighted land supposed to be Shantung Promontory. This is the anniversary of our National Independence which has been observed with speeches & songs, acclamations of the people as a rule realize the inestimable blessings conferred upon them by the action of those patriotic and brave men on the 4th of July 1776; nor is the influence of that act duly appreciated by the millions of people in foreign lands whose political conditions have been ameliorated by the influence of the example of the popular form of government established in the United States. The quiet and loneliness of the day on shipboard suggested these and kindred reflections. At 12 o'clock N precisely a salute of 21 guns were fired from the *Colorado*, *Benicia* and *Alaska*. Soon after the *Monocacy* and *Palos* were signalled to come within hail, when after ascertaining that they were all right and prepared for the voyage, were ordered to part company and steer directly for Shanghai. It is now certain that we shall not reach Chefoo until tomorrow morning.

5 July 1871

Great was my disappointment on awakening this morning to find a dense fog shutting out from view all land, and therefore delaying our arrival at Chefoo. Last night was bright moonlight, but the Admiral concluded it was the part of prudence to delay entering a strange harbor in the night with so large a vessel as the *Colorado*. We arrived off the entrance of the harbor at 12 o'clock last night and anchored. The *Benicia* & *Alaska* anchored near as their steam whistles can be heard at intervals through the fog. Towards eight o'clock the fog began to burn away and the order was given to weigh anchor. We got underway about 9 o'clock and steamed slowly in, passing the British flag-ship *Ocean* and her despatch steamer, the *Salamis*, and came to anchor about 11 A.M. The other vessels of the squadron followed and anchored near the *Colorado*. The British Admiral came on board soon after we anchored to call upon Admiral Rodgers. I excused myself as soon as possible and started ashore arriving at the hotel soon after 12 o'clock. I found Mrs. Low and Flora both in good health. They were at breakfast when I got to the hotel. Spent the rest of the day at home. It is an agreeable change to get on shore again, and be with my family.

6 July 1871

Weather clear, bright and warm. There is however in Chefoo a pleasant breeze which relieves the oppresiveness of the heat. The *Manchu* is expected today from Tientsin and although a day or two ahead of the time when steamers can reach Shanghai in season for the outgoing mail, I am informed that this is the last chance of sending a mail with a certainty of connecting. I accordingly went down to the Consulate and finished my despatches for the Department. I send by this mail nos. 72, 73, 74 & 75, all in reference to Corea. I found upon arrival here several letters from Dr. Williams in which he says that all is quiet in Peking. There is no news of any disturbance either real or apprehended at the present moment. A curious fact connected with the first attack upon our vessels in Corea is, the speed with which the news of a Corean victory was sent on to China. The report reached Peking as early as the 10th or 12th of June, and the courier must have come through from Seoul to Peking in 9 or 10 days --- about half the time usually occupied in the transmission of despatches between the two capitals. As Mr. Williams does not mention having received a copy of the despatch from the Govt. of Corea to the Board of Rites, I presume the whole thing is either a fabrication or that the Board did not choose to send it.

7 July 1871

Weather clear and rather hot. The breeze being from the South does not cool the atmosphere the same as an easterly wind from the sea does. The steamer from Shanghai is expected today with the American mail of June 1 from San Francisco. Mr. Holwill, Flora and myself went on board the *Colorado*, *Benicia* and *Alaska* today and made calls.

Considerable excitement is created today by the news which the Chinese bring from Corea. A junk containing 3 Europeans and 8 Chinese left here about the 15th June to wreck the Schooner *Chusan* which was lost in the early days of June on one of the Sir James Hall Group near the coast of Corea. The wreck was sold at auction in Chefoo "for acct. of whom it may concern." The parties purchasing (2 Englishmen & 1 Prussian) started to see if any property could be recovered. The report is that the foreigners and two or three of the Chinese were seized and the others escaped in their junk. This comes from the Chinese that returned. The Gun-Boat *Ringdove* started this afternoon to look after and endeavor to recover the men who were forcibly seized by the Coreans. The British Consul goes on the *Ringdove*. It is not improbable that through this affair the British and German Governments will become involved in complications with Corea.

8 July 1871

Weather clear and hot. The *Shansee* arrived last evening bringing the American mail. Nothing particularly new in my letters or despatches; nor is there anything of note in the newspapers except the conclusion and ratification of the treaty with England which is calculated to settle all disputes existing between the two countries. The terrible scenes enacted in France recently and the re-capture of Paris fill European papers. It is sickening to read the accounts of the lawlessness and vandalism of the Socialists in Paris, and strengthens the opinion of the World, that France is not capable of self-government.

In the afternoon the Admiral called: -- the first time he has been on shore. Flora and I went in his Barge with him to call upon Mrs. Warden. After leaving them Flora returned in the Barge and I walked back by the beach, stopping on the way at the new Hotel to pay Mr. Wade a visit. I found Mrs. Wade very well. The weather today has been very warm. The *Ringdove* sailed last evening and will most likely be gone a week. I doubt very much whether her visit will benefit the poor fellows who are in the hands of the Coreans. I shall look with interest for her return to see if any new light is shed upon affairs there.

9 July 1871

Sun very hot this morning. A southerly breeze still continues which does not cool the atmosphere much. At 11 o'clock attended church in company with Mrs. Low, Flora, Mr. Wheeler & Mr. Holwill. Revd. Mr. Butcher of Shanghai preached a sermon on civilization: -- the best sermon I have listened to in China. Several people from the Hotel went off to the *Ocean* in the afternoon to take lunch. Later in the day the Captain of the *Ocean* called at our rooms. The steamers *Szechuan* and *Appiu* arrived from Tientsin. I rec'd no letters by either vessel. Dr. Specht from Peking called. He is on his way to take his place in the Customs at Amoy. The *Appiu* sailed again for Shanghai in the afternoon. The *Szechuan* will go tomorrow at 12 o'clock.

10 July 1871

Weather clear with a fresh easterly wind. The temperature is much more comfortable today. I find a great difference between a southerly and an easterly wind in point of comfort; the former is hot and sultry and the latter bracing and cool. Nothing of especial note occurred today. The Steamer *Shantung* came in the afternoon bringing an "official" from Mr. Seward in regard to the payment for telegrams but nothing else. The Shanghai papers comment upon the withdrawal of the fleet from Corea. In the opinion of the Shanghai newspapers the fleet should have remained in Corea until the further determination of the Govt. of the U.S. could be made known to me. It is unfortunate that all diplomatic and naval matters in China could not be entrusted to the Editors in Shanghai. Were this the case the newspapers would be better suited whether the interests of foreign governments were or not.

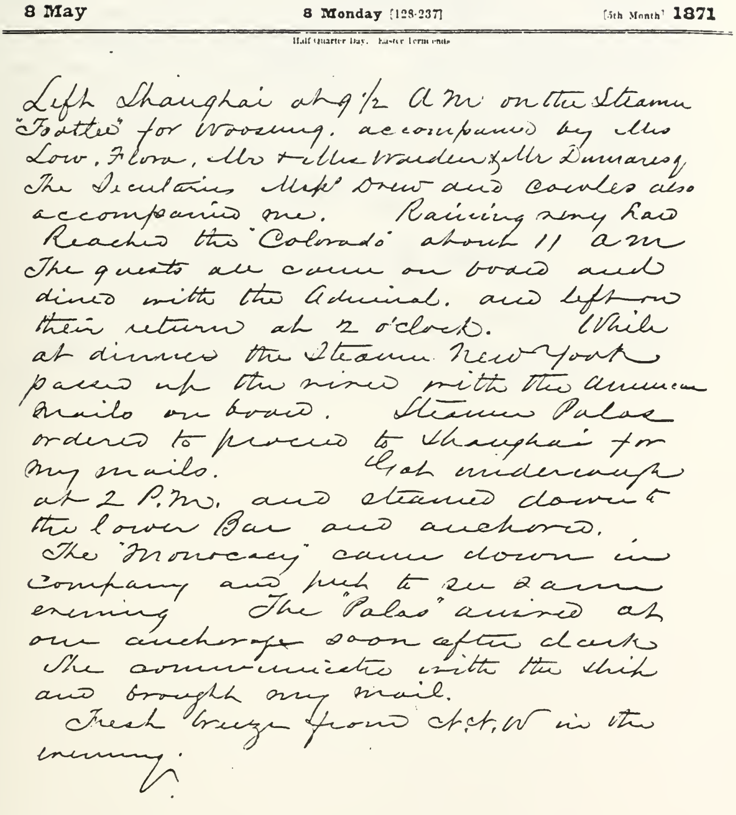
Towards evening it was showery with every appearance of a rainy night.

APPENDIX D

A COPY OF THE ORIGINAL DIARY OF

FREDERICK FERDINAND LOW

MAY 8 - JULY 10, 1871



8 May **8 Monday** [128-237] [5th Month] **1871**

Half Quarter Day. Easter Term ends

Left Shanghai at 9 1/2 A.M. on the Steamer "Foattee" for Woosung. accompanied by Mrs Low, Flora, Mr + Mrs Warden & Mr Dumaresq The Secretaries Messrs Drew and Cowles also accompanied me. Raining very hard Reached the "Colorado" about 11 A.M. The guests all came on board and dined with the Admiral. and left on their return at 2 o'clock. While at dinner the Steamer New York passed up the river with the American mails on board. Steamer Palos ordered to proceed to Shanghai for my mails. Got underway at 2 P.M. and steamed down to the lower Bar and anchored. The "Monocacy" came down in company and put to sea same evening The "Palos" arrived at our anchorage soon after dark She communicated with the ship and brought my mail. Fresh breeze from N.N.W in the evening.

Weather clear with fine fresh breeze from N.N.W. Palos went to sea at daylight bound to Nagasaki. Colorado got underway at 2 P.M and steamed down to the Light Ship. Set all sail and continued under sail and steam until about 7 P.M. Stopped engines and continued under sail alone until 5 A.M. 10th May. Nothing occurred today of special interest.

Pilot left the ship about 4 P.M. Sent back an overcoat & bundle of blankets & shawls by pilot to Mr Warden. and letters to Mrs W, Mrs Low & Mr Seward)

10 May

10 Wednesday [130-235] [5th Month] **1871**

Weather clear & pleasant. Wind getting round ahead and dying away. : About noon took in all sail and continued under Steam alone. . Wrote despatches and looked over the papers, and so whiled away the day

In the evening thick fog on the water, but bright starlight overhead

Steamer making about 7 knots under steam alone.

Notwithstanding the size of the "Colorado" do not think her as steady and comfortable in a sea way as a merchant steamer of much less size. Distance run in the last 24 hours 123 miles

1871 (31 Days) **11 Thursday** (131-234) **May 11**

Weather mild and cloudy. Sea smooth, no wind. Ship under steam alone. At 2 P.M. sighted land, — Islands named "Asses ears" 12 miles distant. Howitzers on Quarter deck practiced firing shells.
Distance run in the last 24 hours 155 miles. Wrote dispatches all day

Arrived at Nagasaki and anchored at 6 55 A.M. : Weather warm and raining. Found in Port the U.S.S. Alaska, Benicia Monocacy and Palos. also the British Flag Ship "Ocean" and . . and the French Gunboat Duplin Exchanged Salutes with the Ocean and Dupleix. The Consul called on the Admiral and myself. Later all the commanders of the U S vessels called. Their visits I shall not return until my arrival on the Coast of Corea. Engaged in writing all day. Did not go on shore. Baron Richthofen called to see about accompanying the Expedition as Geologist. Promised to see him on shore next day

Weather in the morning drizzling and very disagreeable. In the afternoon it cleared up for several hours and was quite pleasant. P M S S Co New York from Shanghai with the American mails arrived at 6 A M and brought me letters from Mrs Low and Flora. She is to leave on Monday at 12 M. Am busy preparing my mail for the U.S. During the day Dr Bretschneider called. In the afternoon the Admiral and I went on shore. Landed at Dezima and walked through the Japanese settlement. The streets, shops and houses, of the Japanese present a striking contrast to those of the Chinese:—the former being much cleaner, better stocked and more commodious in every way. Called at the German Consulate to see Baron Richthofen but failed to see him. Returned on board at 6 P M.

Note Putting down the arrival of the Steamer Newyork and everything connected therewith is an error. She arrived on Sunday instead of Saturday.

Weather cloudy in the morning and clear and pleasant in the afternoon (All I said about the arrival of the Stmr New York in yesterdays date should be inserted here): Attended church on board ship. The example is good and benificial, but the sermon both in matter and manner was not of the first order. In the afternoon the Admiral and I landed on the opposite shore to Nagasaki and took a walk on the hills. The five Coreans which were picked up at sea by the Schr Sheray and brought to Takee, and from there sent to Shanghai, from which place the Admiral brought them on the Flag-Ship with the intention of returning them to their own Country, became so alarmed at the prospect of being returned in a foreign ship fearing punishment by their own officials, that the Admiral, after consultation with me, concluded to discharge them here and turn them over to the Japanese officials, who promised to send them back in one of the Junks trading between Corea & Japan. These poor fellows became so much alarmed that they would not eat. They never tasted food for over 24 hours prior to their discharge.

Weather clear warm and pleasant said to be a very exceptional day in Nagasaki: — Rain being the rule and pleasant weather the exception."

Finished my mail at 11 A.M. and went on board New York to call on some of the passengers. In the afternoon went on shore and called on Mrs Mangum, the wife of the American Consul: — her husband having left at noon on the Stmr for Yokohama. All hands on board ship busy getting ready for sea. Admiral has given orders for the Fleet to sail tomorrow at 6 a.m. He had all the Captains on board and gave them specific orders in regard to the voyage and ordered them to rendezvous at Ferrieres Island, near the Coast of Corea. Engaged a Photographic Artist to accompany the Expedition, He will take passage in the "Monocacy". Refused to allow Newspaper Correspondents to go. — One, — a Correspondent of the New York Herald, protested in a letter to the Admiral at our decision, in terms more forcible than polite.

Tuesday morning At 6 am the Flag-Ship got under weigh and steamed down the harbor followed by the "Benicia", "Alaska", "Monocacy" and "Palos". At the Light House formed in "double Echelon" (I believe it is called) — the Alaska on Starboard quarter and a little astern with the Benicia on the Port quarter in same position. The Monocacy occupying a similar position with respect to the Alaska, and the Palos the same to the Benicia. Weather warm and pleasant and sea smooth. The fleet presents a fine appearance. To one unacquainted with men of war, the precision and order of their movements and everything on board of them is very interesting. By noting this peculiarity one is better enabled to understand the power of the navy when acting in concert.

In the evening light breeze so that the fore and aft sails were set

1871 31 Days **17 Wednesday** [137-228] **May 17**

Weather warm misty and sultry in the morning. All the vessels of the fleet in sight and in position. Thick fog and mist in the forenoon.

About noon a fresh breeze sprung up and made considerable sea. About 1 P.M. I noticed that all the top gallant masts and yards were sent down on the Colorado, Alaska and Benicia, which looked like "preparing for squalls".

In the afternoon fresh breeze and considerable sea. The smaller vessels of the fleet were making bad weather of it. Several on board Colorado were sea-sick. Fortunately I was not one of the number. The Admiral was attacked while in Nagasaki with rheumatism in left breast and side.

It has now worked downward into his legs and feet, —the latter considerably swollen and painful.

Last night was quite sick. Cause. Eating crawfish which, I imagine, were not very fresh

18 May

18 Thursday [138-227] [5th Month] 1871

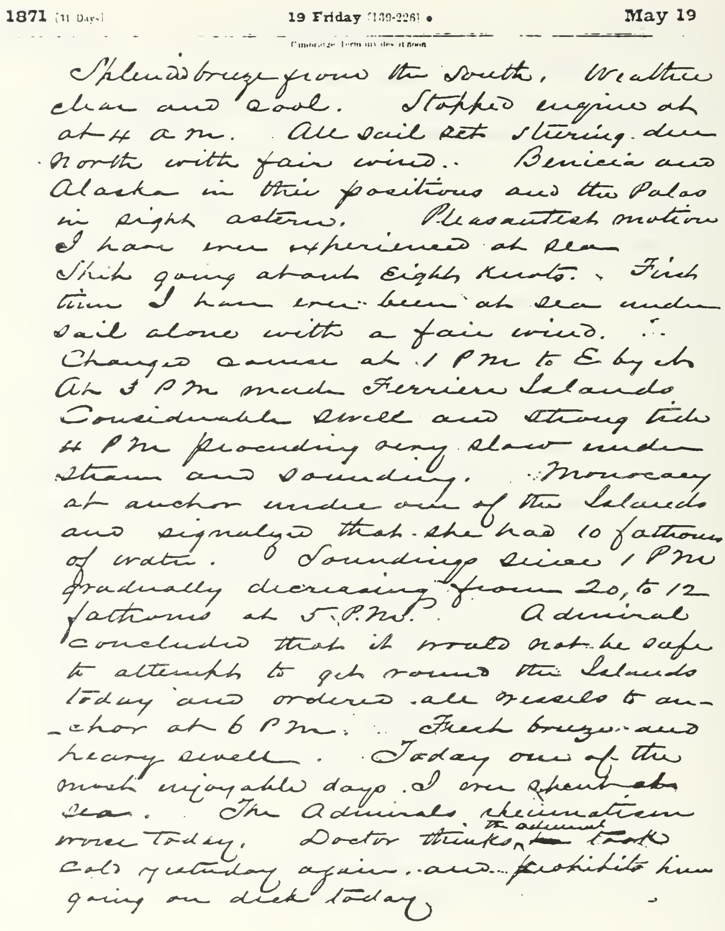
Ascension. Holy Thursday

Weather clear and bright and temperature pleasantly warm. All the vessels in sight and in position. "Monocacy" signalled that she had been roughly used by the sea yesterday, having lost 20 feet of her guards and had one boat stove. Later, she asked permission to proceed to the rendezvous as fast as she could in order to have time to repair damages. Her request was granted.

The Admiral is better today, and I hope will be well by the time we arrive. Mr Drew and Mr Cowles are busy translating into Chinese the documents we will be likely to require in our intercourse with the Coreans. I have entirely recovered from my recent exertions, with the exception that I have a slight pain in my right breast. I must have taken a slight cold in some way.

All the vessels running under easy steam and making slow progress. The Admiral desires to economize coal in every way. About sunset a light breeze sprung up. Set topsails topgallant sails and royals.

Monocacy ~~[illegible]~~ disappeared at the NE about nightfall



1871 (31 Days) **19 Friday** (139-226) • **May 19**

[illegible]

Splendid breeze from the south. Weather
clear and cool. Stopped engine at
at 4 a.m. All sail set steering due
North with fair wind. Benicia and
Alaska in their positions and the Palos
in sight astern. Pleasantest motion
I have ever experienced at sea
Ship going about Eight knots. First
time I have ever been at sea under
sail alone with a fair wind.
Changed course at 1 PM to E by N
At 3 PM made Ferriere Islands
Considerable swell and strong tide
4 PM proceeding very slow under
steam and sounding. Monocacy
at anchor under one of the Islands
and signalized that she had 10 fathoms
of water. Soundings since 1 PM
gradually decreasing from 20, to 12
fathoms at 5 P.M. Admiral
concluded that it would not be safe
to attempt to get round the Islands
today and ordered all vessels to anchor at 6 PM. Fresh breeze and
heavy swell. Today one of the
most enjoyable days I ever spent at
sea. The Admirals rheumatism
worse today. Doctor thinks the admiral ~~he~~ took
cold yesterday again and prohibits him
going on deck today

Weather warm and thick fog. Cannot make out any of the vessels of the fleet although they are anchored near the Flag-ship. Impossible to proceed, greatly to the disappointment of all. By sounding ascertained the rise and fall of the tide to be 24 feet. Current past the ship by log 1½ knots. Capt Nichols and myself tried fishing. Caught nothing. Corean fish like the inhabitants evidently decline intercourse with foreigners.

Fog lifted about 1 PM when the Palos and Monocacy got underweigh and anchored near the Flag-ship. Admiral ordered the commanders of all the ships to come on board to give them specific instructions about proceeding when we start again. From here the order of sailing will be reversed: the Palos ahead ~~then~~ the Monocacy. Benicia Alaska and the Flag-ship following in the order in which they are named. I hope we will be able to proceed to our point of destination tomorrow.

Have occupied myself in draughting ~~[illegible]~~ such official communications to the Corean Government as will be likely to be necessary.

Fog lifted about 9 am when the order was given for all the vessels to get under weight. Proceeded slowly on E by N course sounding all the way. Also the vessels sounding and making signals indicating depth of water. Weather thick so that it was impossible to distinguish objects more than one mile distant. Strong current running and sounding increased from 10 fathoms in the morning to 25 fathoms at 2 PM. Saw some rocky Islands on Port quarter at 2½ PM. At 3 PM the fog getting so thick and the region hereabouts so imperfectly surveyed the Admiral concluded to anchor. Fired a signal of one gun for all the ships to come to anchor. Soon after anchoring the fog lifted a little ~~and~~ when we found Isle Fernande bearing S.E. Soundings indicated 25 fathoms. Current so strong (about 3½ knots) that it is impossible to get accurate soundings to ~~indicate~~ determine the exact rise and fall of the tide. Estimated to be from 25 to 30 feet. Towards saw some Corean Junks not far off.

Trinity Term begins

Am greatly disappointed this morning at finding a dense fog shutting out of view everything 100 yards distant. Weather warm.... Impossible to proceed unless the fog lifts. ... At 12 M fog lighted up a little enabling us to see the Islands near us and the other vessels of the Squadron. At 2 PM fog shut down as thick as before. About 1 PM saw a Corean Junk bound W.S.W. all sail set and crew rowing or sculling. Too far off to see particularly either the vessel or the crew but supposed her to be Corean.

Made the draft of a letter to the King of Corea announcing my arrival on the Coast and my readiness to meet a high officer of equal rank with myself. Unless some one appears at the anchorage of the Flag-ship soon after our arrival I shall send Mr Cowles or Mr Drew in one of the smaller vessels up in the direction of Kang-Hoa to endeavor to find an officer of rank who will undertake to forward my letter to the King

All is as yet doubt and uncertainty as to what kind of a reception we will meet with. I naturally expect that every device will be used to induce us to go away

Weather clear and pleasant overhead with a low fog early in the morning, Fog gradually cleared away as the sun got up. Squadron got underweigh about 9½ AM steering for the first regular anchorage in a sheet of water almost surrounded by Islands which the Admiral has designated "Roze's Rhoades". In passing Isle Fernandez discovered something of a village on the northerly side of the Island. With glasses discovered quite a number of Coreans on the hills watching our movements. Several Junks in sight moving about but none have as yet displayed any inclination to come near the ships. Squadron came to anchor at 12½ P.M. This P M the Admiral ordered the Palos and 4 Steam Launches to start tomorrow morning at daylight and survey all the Passages North of where we now lie; with a view of moving the Flag-Ship as near to the Island of Kang Hoa as possible. The whole expedition to be under the command of Comdr Blake of the Alaska, who is to go in the Palos. I have given a general letter of instructions to Capt Blake telling what to say to the Corean officials in case any come off to inquire his business, and have sent Mr Cowles with the expedition as Interpreter

Queen born 1819. Holiday on appointed day at Inland Revenue Offices

Weather clear calm and pleasant. Palos and Steam Launches started at daylight, and four boats started at 9 1/2 A.M. to take Soundings in the region where we now lie, to return at night. This latter operation will be kept up in this vicinity until the return of the Palos and the Mosquito fleet. Today the Admiral, myself, Capt Nichols and Mr Pickings landed on Isle Eugenie and spent several hours. We saw no inhabitants on the Island and there are evidently none residing there, although there are evidences of its having been not long since inhabited. On the beach we found innumerable small oysters clinging to the rocks:—too small however for eating. Wild roses and some flowers were found everywhere we went. On the beach I picked up the top of a meerschaum pipe, evidently foreign manufacture. It had been dropped probably by the French officers when surveying here in 1867. Some of the boats that were out sounding, when approaching the shore where there were congregated a number of natives. ~~upon the~~ the latter fled to the hills and got out of sight. Whether it is an innate fear of their officials who prohibit intercourse or a dread of what we may do to them caused by the hostile acts of the French in 1866 it is impossible to say. I rather expect to find difficulty in communicating with the natives.

Weather cool with a fresh breeze

The four surveying boats started out again this morning to take soundings. About 10 a m I started in the Admirals Barge accompanied by Mr Drew, Mr Wheeler of the Admirals staff, a native Corean sailor, and a full boats crew, for a sail near the coasts of the Islands with the intention, if found to be practicable, of sending the Corean on shore with Mr Drew, to open some sort of communication with the people

We skirted the coast of the large Island for some distance and found that the beach, in front of what appeared to be a large farm-house, to be studded with rocks which rendered it unsafe to land.

We then proceeded up the bay where we saw several junks under sail intending to communicate with them if they showed any disposition so to do. In passing near one our Corean sailor hailed the men on board but no answer being returned concluded not to board her and thereby terrify the boatmen. It seemed the better plan to pursue our survey quietly and thus exhibit by our acts that no harm is intended to the peaceful inhabitants. The officers in the surveying boats report that the people near where they were sounding today came down to the water's edge to watch their proceedings and seem to be gaining confidence as to our peaceful intentions

Oxford Term ends

Weather warm with light breeze. Fine weather for the surveying operations that are going on: and it is hoped the Mosquito fleet will get through their explorations and return this evening. The four boats started out this morning again. At 2 PM I started in the Admirals Barge accompanied by Lt Comdr Wheeler, Mr Drew and the Russian Corean. Made for a little hamlet upon one of the small Islands: Ran up to the beach and the Corean Interpreter called to the people, who were not far off, and they came down to the beach. Held a conversation with them on various matters but gathered no information worth recording. The fear the people exhibited soon after our arrival seems to be overcome by their curiosity. The Corean which we have with us, who came from the NE part of the Kingdom understands the language here perfectly; — proving that our language is universal throughout the Country. The several surveying parties that were out today met considerable numbers of natives. all of whom with one exception, appeared friendly. Several notes written in Chinese were given to the boats enquiring where we are from, what is our business, and when we are going away. In one case they rolled stones down a hill side towards one of the boats

1871 (31 Days) **27 Saturday** (147-218) **May 27**

Weather clear with strong wind from S.S.W Towards evening the wind increased to a gale causing the ship to drag one anchor which was out, and compelling another anchor to be let go to hold her. The Mosquito fleet did not return today as we expected. Probably the hard blow detains them on the leeward side of the Islands north of us.

This morning I sent Mr Drew and the Admiral sent Capt Nichols to the point where the written communications came from yesterday. Prior to going I had a memorandum written in Chinese which would serve as an answer to the written questions which came from the Coreans yesterday. My reply was, substantially, that the Ships came from the United States of America; that our business ~~was~~ is with the highest officials; that it is likely we shall remain here some time in order to complete our business, and that as soon as this is settled to our satisfaction the ships will probably depart. Mr Drew & Capt Nichols landed and through the Corean Interpreter held a conversation with the people. The Coreans professed the greatest friendship and said they were peasantry, although I am inclined to think one or more were small officials. They said it was their intention to come on board the flag ship when the wind down. They may, but I doubt it

28 May   28 Whit **Sunday** [148-217]   [5th Month] **1871**

Ember Week

Wind this morning about same as yesterday. Too rough for the "Mosquito fleet" I think. Am disappointed at this delay, as I had hoped, and rather expected, the Surveying fleet back either Friday or Saturday with a report that there is water enough for the Flag-Ship to move up to Isle Boisé. I am anxious to get the Flag-Ship as near the Capital as possible so as to establish firmly a base of operations. No sign of people or Junks in our vicinity today. Junks would hardly venture out with this rough sea on. In the afternoon wind lulled considerably. Towards night began to look anxiously for the Mosquito Fleet to make its appearance. At 8 PM went below; gave up all hope of seeing it tonight. Half an hour later officer came down and reported Palos in sight. She arrived with the four Steam-Launches in tow and came to anchor about 9 P.M. Capt Blake and Mr Cowles came on board and reported that their trip had been successful. Found plenty of water ~~for~~ the whole squadron as far as Isle Boise. They had no communication with people on shore. Saw a large crowd at a town near Isle Boise who seemed very much alarmed at the appearance of our vessels.

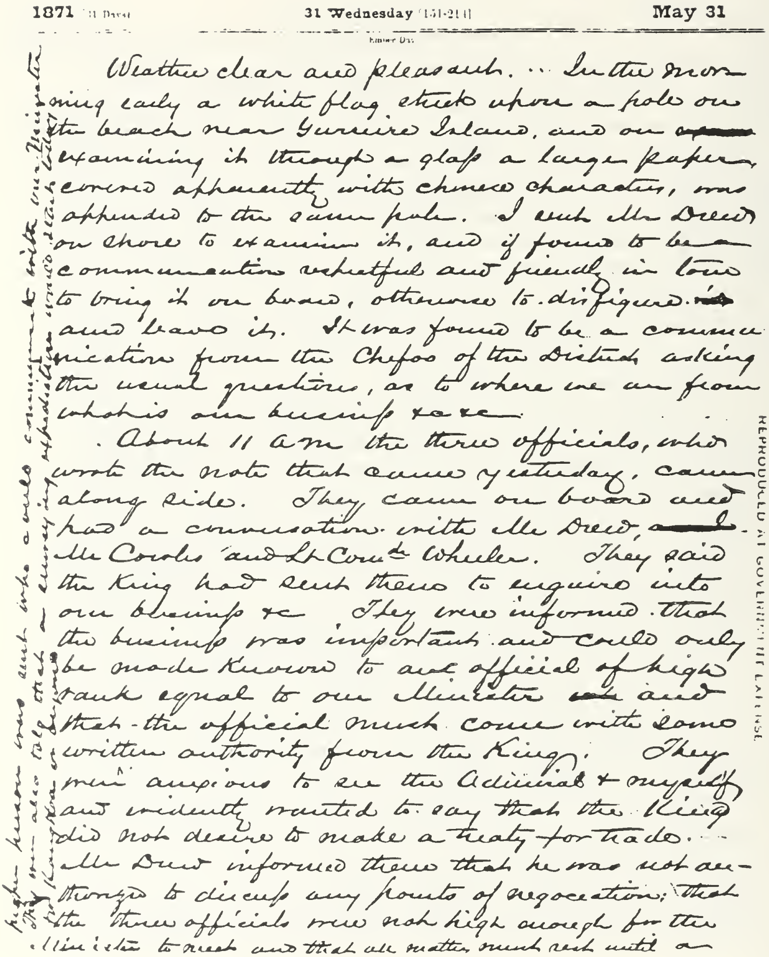
Orders were immediately sent to the other ships to get underway at 9½ AM Tomorrow

Morning foggy and disagreeable. After the sun got up the fog began to clear up so that the order to get underway, given last night, was not countermanded. The ships did not however get ready to start until 10 1/2 a.m... Steamed along slowly northward without trouble and without finding any scarcity of water for the largest vessels. Many officers on board taking "angles" to assist in correcting the charts, and all the vessels making rapid soundings. Great attention is being paid to surveys and soundings by which charts will be made and corrected, which will prove of great advantage to navigators who have occasion to visit this coast. It is to be hoped that our expedition may not ~~[illegible]~~ be entirely fruitless, and that its results may ~~be~~ prove ~~of~~ lasting benefit to the Coreans and the civilized world.

At 2 PM thick fog shut in so we could not see the vessels ahead of the Flag-ship, and the Admiral ordered a gun to be fired — a signal for the Squadron to come to anchor.

Our expectation of reaching Isle Boisée and establishing a "base of operations" today is defeated much to my disappointment and that of every one on board

Thick fog again this morning but I am hoping that when the sun gets higher it will burn off. One P.M. is the hour designated to get underway. Soon after that hour the fog began to clear away and the signal was made to the other ships "up anchor". All got underway and steamed northward toward Isle Boise which we reached safely about 4 P.M. and anchored in plenty of water a little to the northward of Isle Boise. Something of a town on an Island west of Boise has a straggling wall around it built many years ago and now much dilapidated The people on the Western Island seemed to be much alarmed at the approach of the vessels A large number of people could be seen fleeing from the coast towards the country, taking ~~[illegible] with~~ many cattle with them. Soon after anchoring a native boat made its appearance near the Flag-ship; one of the persons in the boat standing up holding a letter in his hand and making motions for some one to come off and get it. Mr Drew went off, got the note, and invited the people on board, which invitation they accepted ~~and came on board~~. The note purported to be from three officials on shore near here who had been sent by the King to meet and confer with me. I returned a reply saying that my business would only be made known to a high official Mr Drew verbally sent an invitation for the three to come



1871 31 Days | 31 Wednesday (151-214) | May 31

Ember Day

Weather clear and pleasant. .. In the morning early a white flag stuck upon a pole on the beach near Guerriere Island, and on examining it through a glass a large paper, covered apparently with Chinese characters, was appended to the same pole. I sent Mr Drew on shore to examine it, and if found to be a communication respectful and friendly in tone to bring it on board, otherwise to disfigure ~~it~~ and leave it. It was found to be a communication from the Chefos of the District asking the usual questions, as to where we are from what is our business &c &c. . . .

. About 11 a.m the three officials, who wrote the note that came yesterday, came alongside. They came on board and had a conversation with Mr Drew, ~~and I~~ Mr Cowles and Lt Comdr Wheeler. They said the King had sent them to enquire into our business &c. They were informed that the business was important and could only be made known to an official of high rank equal to our Minister and that the official must come with some written authority from the King. They were anxious to see the Admiral & myself and evidently wanted to say that the King did not desire to make a treaty for trade. .. Mr Drew informed them that he was not authorized to discuss any points of negociation; that the three officials were not high enough for the Minister to meet and that all matters must rest until a higher person was sent who could communicate with our Minister. They were also told that a surveying expedition would start today for Kanghoa or beyond.

REPRODUCED AT GOVERNMENT EXPENSE

Today has been rather an eventful one.

This morning the weather was clear, calm and pleasant. A shower came up about 10 a.m but cleared off again by 11 a.m. The Admiral organized an expedition to proceed to or beyond Kanghwa to survey and sound the channel. The fleet consisted of the "Monocacy" "Palos" and the four steam Launches. It started at 10½ a.m. under the general command of Capt Blake. His instructions from the Admiral were to proceed in a peaceful manner, avoiding in all ways giving offense, and making no attack unless first attacked by the Coreans. If attacked without provocation to return the fire and destroy the place and people that fired upon his vessels. All was peaceable until the fleet reached a sharp angle in the river put down on the French charts as Fort du Conde. when masked batteries, composed of some heavy guns but mostly of gingalls opened a very sharp fire upon the vessels and Launches from both sides of the river. The vessels and launches returned the fire and silenced the batteries and passed on a short distance beyond. In the turn of the river it was found difficulty to steer the vessels owing to the rapid and varying current, and the Monocacy struck a rock knocking a hole in her bottom. Capt McRea thinking it imprudent to proceed on in the condition his vessel then was the whole expedition returned safely & anchored near the Flag ship at 5½ P.M. The vessels and Launches were not injured by the shots of the enemy, none were killed and only two were wounded; one by the recoil of a gun on the Palos & one by a piece of a shell

Weather foggy in the morning but cleared up pleasantly about 10 a.m. Yesterday afternoon after the damage to the Monocacy had been examined it was decided that ~~should~~ could be repaired ~~again~~ so as to fit for active service again without beaching.

I gave it as my opinion that although the Navy gained a substantial victory yesterday, it would not do to withdraw without seeking retaliation, for if we did the Coreans would construe our victory as a defeat which would be damaging to the prestige of our Government both here and in China. I advised that, if the Admiral considered his force adequate, that a sufficient number of men, who would be able, by the aid of the smaller vessels and launches, to land at the point where the vessels were attacked yesterday, and effectually destroy the enemys works guns &c. After that was done the force should move on up taking and destroying all the forts on both sides of the channel as far as the North end of the Island of Kanghoa.

The Admiral decided to carry out the first part of the programme and after that was accomplished, to then decide upon future operations. He fixed upon this morning as the time when the expedition was to move. Later in the evening upon consultation with Capt Blake and Commander McCrea it was deemed advisable to postpone the attack until neap tides which will be in about 6 or 8 days. I quite agreed to the arrangement, as the delay will give ample time for the Government to disavow and apologize for the attack & open negociations

3 June 3 Saturday [154-211] [6th Month] 1871

Ember Day

Weather clear and temperature quite warm. It has been the warmest day we have experienced since leaving Shanghai. Have been busy writing despatches and letters all day and so has everybody else. The Palos leaves tomorrow morning for Chefoo to take the mail. Capt Boswell goes over in her and will proceed on to Shanghai with orders from the Admiral to charter the Steamer Millet or some other one of her class, load her with coal and return with dispatch to this anchorage. The Palos will return from Chefoo with coal, provisions, and the incoming mails. Orders also went over for coal and provisions to be sent from Hong Kong to Chefoo. The Admiral sent a ~~dispatch~~ telegram, in addition to his despatches, to the Secy of the Navy, detailing the operations thus far and asking for an increase of force. I sent a telegram to the Secy of State and also despatches Nos 70 and 71. Mr Cowles also went over in the Palos and will return in her. As the Admiral thinks it may be advisable to divide the fleet in future operations ~~and~~ more Interpreters may be required. At his request I wrote to Augustine Heard & Co for Mr Pethick to come over if he was willing and could be spared by the firm. The proposed attack will be made by land force in conjunction with the vessels and launches. Capt Blake will, as before, have command of the forces afloat & Commander Kimberly those on the land.

Wrote letters to Mrs Low Dr Williams. Mr G F Seward, Mr Wilson & Mr Holwill Chefoo and to Mr Wade Peking

1871 [30 Days] 4 Trinity **Sunday** [155-210] **June 4**

Weather in the morning foggy, but cleared off by 10 a.m. Palos left for Chefoo at 2½ a.m. Divine service on board at 10½ a.m. previous to which the whole of the officers and crew were assembled on deck for inspection. As the inspection goes into the detail of everything, - cleanliness, clothing &c all the men appeared in their best. ~~This~~ It appears to be a settled rule in the Navy that a general inspection must take place the first Sunday in each month whether at sea or in port; ~~and~~ the roll is called in full and every man must be present to answer to his name or some officer must answer for him: for instance the Surgeon answers for those that are sick and wounded and the Officer of the Deck answers for those necessarily on duty and the prisoners. The afternoon was warm and pleasant. Prepared a note in reply to one received yesterday from the Prefect. It will be sent in the name of Mr Drew. A stake on Guerriere Island is the Post office through which the correspondence of this official passes. His note was rather threatening in its character: mine in reply was firm in tone at the same time leaving a wide door open for negociation: I gave five or six days for peaceful overtures to come, after which the Admiral and myself would feel at liberty to do as we pleased). It may lead to some good result but I doubt it

5 Monday (156-209) [6th Month] 1871

Weather clear bright and warm. The sun today made it uncomfortable when exposed to its full force. Mr Drew and Confucius at work putting my note of yesterday into Chinese which I hope to get ready to deposit in the special "Post office" this evening. Capt Blake & Commander Kimberly came on board today to whom the Admiral explained his probable future movements. Yesterday and the day before we could see by the aid of glasses the people at work on the hills on the mainland just a few miles below, evidently repairing old or building new fortifications. Also saw considerable numbers of men on the hills which appeared to be ~~men~~ soldiers drilling. Officers of the ships report that lights are seen at various times through the nights on the hills near here which appear to be signals from one hill to the other. The Admiral ordered the two steam launches to be got ready so as to leave at 2 P.M. and run southward and around Roze's Island so as to get a better view of the fortifications which the Coreans appear to be at work upon. They made the trip as instructed and reported the fortifications to be insignificant, built evidently to cover the road leading to Seoul and not to oppose ~~any~~ an attack from the Sea. Saw three or four pieces of artillery only. Finished note and put it in "Post office". Was immediately taken

Weather clear and warm. Seems to feel like Summer. Awnings spread fore & aft. Nothing occurred today of special interest. All the force designed to go to Fort du Conde assembled on deck arrayed in martial uniform which consisted of white canvas gaiters in addition to the usual sailor duds. Battalion drill was gone through with which did great credit to both officers and men. Sailors are brave, ~~and~~ the only drawback when they are landed to take the part of soldiers being that it is hard to hold them back and make them act together. Their bravery and recklessness is the weakest spot in their characters. In the afternoon the Barge was sent to the beach where a number of Coreans daily assemble at low water to gather clams. Mr Drew and the Russian-Corean went along to try and have a talk with these ignorant people, not expecting to obtain any valuable information, but rather to disabuse their minds ~~of the common people~~ as to our hostile intentions, so long as we were treated civilly. The people whom they met sold them all the clams they had. but as soon as the trade was completed walked away thus declining all conversation as far as possible. In another place where the Barge landed some natives came and had a talk with our people... They begged us to go away, as our presence here stopped all fishing and labor, which hindered the poor people from obtaining their daily food.

Clear, warm and beautiful. Thermometer: about 70° in the shade. About 9 a.m. a Junk appeared near the ship: evidently desiring to communicate with the Squadron The Alaska sent a boat & towed the junk alongside the Flag-Ship. ~~He~~ brought 3 bullocks 50 chickens & 1000 Eggs as a present to me from the Guardian of Kang-Hoa Prefecture and Ex-officio Governor and General. A letter from the same official, enclosing copy of one from the King to the Board of Rites Peking in reply to mine written ~~from~~ at that place. The men in the Junk professed to be merchants, although it is likely they were attachés of the high official. The letter appears to be written in a polite manner, ~~but~~ reiterating the same old story: that Corea is poor, has no trade, and desires no intercourse with the outside world.

Soon after this Junk came a flag and letter was seen at the "Post office" on Guerriere Island. This proved to be a letter from the Guardian General of Foo-Ping Prefecture in reply to Mr Drews sent on shore on the 5th, saying, that he has sent to his official superior, which is the General & Governor of Kang Hoa, Mr D's letter as the matters referred to were of too grave a nature for him to discuss. It would appear that our letter of the 5th brought out this one from Kang-Hoa The firing upon the vessels instead of being disavowed was tacitly approved, and intimated that force would always be resorted to to prevent vessels going above here. Mr Drew returned a reply that three or four days yet remained for which peaceful negociations are possible, after which the Admiral and myself must feel at liberty to adopt any course we may see fit.

I declined to receive the presents and sent them back.

The men who brought the letter said that several Coreans were killed and "many tens wounded" in the engagement of the 1st Inst.

Weather warm & clear. Atmosphere unusually pure enabling one to see farther and more distinctly than any day since our arrival. No letters or messengers came today from the authorities or the people. By the aid of a glass the fortification on the top of the hill at the place where our vessels were attacked could be distinctly made out, and also the yellow flag which is supposed to be that of the Commanding General. Farther north on a higher hill two large trees and a portion of a City wall could be seen supposed to be part of the wall around the City of Kang-Hoa. Active preparations going on for the movement which will be made soon after the "Palos" returns.

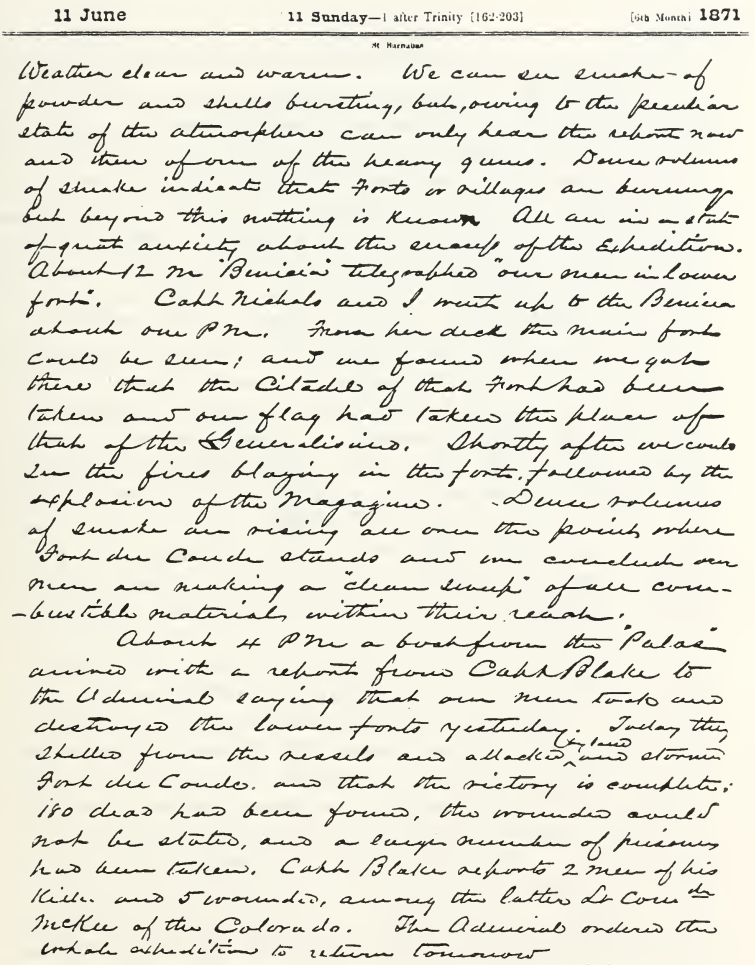
At 6 P.M. while at dinner a steamer reported as coming in from seaward supposed to be the "Palos" from Chefoo. which proved to be correct. She came to anchor about 7½ P.M. Mr Cowles returned in her, with the mails, and fresh provisions for the fleet. I recd letters from Mrs Low and others but nothing from Washington or Peking. I presume that the Department dispatches must have been forwarded to the Legation Peking by the Consul General. The "Palos", when about 25 miles east of Shantung Promontory, picked a boat containing the Captain and part of the crew of a North German schooner wrecked and totally lost on "Sir James Hall's" group of Islands off the coast of Corea

Weather clear, and a little cooler than yesterday. In the afternoon strong breeze with squalls of rain. Towards evening it ~~[illegible]~~ cleared off and promised a good day tomorrow. All are busy preparing for tomorrow. As the time draws near to start I observe a change in tone and appearance of most of the officers. They are not as eager to go as they were the day after the last fight. Time has been given for reflection, and their passions have cooled. They have counted the possible loss and gain, and I fancy the latter is not likely to prove much in any event. This is but human and indicates no lack of courage. They undoubtedly say to themselves and to one another what are we risking our lives for? Is Corea worth a single life?. I have no fear of the result of tomorrows operations. and I hope our forces will escape unharmed. I do not feel confident of the final result however. If we are obliged to stop after taking this fort and most thoroughly destroying it, I doubt if this will bring the Government to terms but it may. It is certainly worth the effort, looking at it from any point of view.

Early in the morning weather foggy. As the sun got up it cleared off the fog making it bright & clear and warm. At 9 1/2 o'clock a.m. all the men from the Flag-Ship and the two Corvettes embarked in boats, about 600 altogether, to act as a landing party. The vessels and steam-launches got underway soon after 10 a.m. it being the Admirals intention to have the landing party reach their point of destination soon after the tide began to ebb. The "Monocacy" took the lead flanked by a steam-launch on each bow the "Palos" and the other steam-launches following with all the boats and launches in tow of the Palos. Mr Drew accompanied Capt Blake, as my representation and to act as Interpreter if necessity should require. Soon after rounding the point which shut her out from view ~~of~~ from our Ship the Monocacy opened fire, which appeared to be kept up briskly for some time. The hazy condition of the atmosphere prevented seeing a long distance, and the report of the guns was much less distinct than on the former occasion. The Admiral Capt Nichols Myself and Mr Cowles went on board the "Benicia" hoping to see and hear better, but found little difference. The firing ceased during the afternoon, but was resumed again towards evening. No news received of success or reverse. I hope for the former.

In the evening a Corean junk came alongside. Mr Cowles went on board and found 10 Coreans who said they were Catholics and were looking for 3 French Priests who ~~were~~ they expected were on their way here.

After interrogating them and satisfying himself of their honesty, Mr Cowles took them on board ship to questioned them [illegible] Communicated.



11 June **11 Sunday**—1 after Trinity [162-203] [6th Month] **1871**

St Barnabas

Weather clear and warm. We can see smoke of powder and shells bursting, but, owing to the peculiar state of the atmosphere can only hear the report now and then of one of the heavy guns. Dense volumes of smoke indicate that Forts or villages are burning, but beyond this nothing is known. All are in a state of great anxiety about the success of the Expedition. About 12 M "Benicia" telegraphed "our men in lower forts". Capt Nichols and I went up to the Benicia about one P.M. From her deck the main fort could be seen; and we found when we got there that the Citadel of that Fort had been taken and our flag had taken the place of that of the Generalissimo. Shortly after we could see the fires blazing in the forts, followed by the explosion of the Magazine. Dense volumes of smoke are rising all over the point where Fort du Conde stands and we conclude our men are making a "clean sweep" of all combustible materials within their reach.

About 4 P.M. a boat from the "Palos" arrived with a report from Capt Blake to the Admiral saying that our men took and destroyed the lower forts yesterday. Today they shelled from the vessels and attacked by land and stormed Fort du Conde. and that the victory is complete: 180 dead had been found, the wounded could not be stated, and a large number of prisoners had been taken. Capt Blake reports 2 men of his killed and 5 wounded, among the latter Lt Com^{dr} McKee of the Colorado. The Admiral ordered the whole expedition to return tomorrow

Weather clear warm and pleasant. All is expectation this morning. looking for the return of the heroes of yesterday. The "Monocacy" & "Palos" came in sight round the point at 10 am and the whole arrived at the anchorage about noon As the vessels came down filled with people, with the empty boats in tow, the former covered with the captured flags and banners of the enemy, presented a queer sight. As the "Monocacy" neared the "Benicia" the latter cheered the conquering heroes which was returned with a will. The cheering was then taken up by the "Alaska" and followed by the Colorado. As soon as a boat came off to us our joy at the glorious victory was saddened at the news of poor McKees death. His wounds proved to be fatal and he died last evening at $5^{\underline{45}}$ O'clock. His remains are embalmed and will be sent home. All accounts agree that the Coreans fought with courage and a desperation rarely to be found in any nation. The superiority of our small arms and artillery alone saved us from disaster. With modern arms and artillery the Coreans will stand against equal numbers of any country. As an instance of their desperate fighting 108 dead bodies were counted in the citadel of the fort — a place 75 feet in diameter The best estimates place the number of killed at not less than 300; the wounded could scarcely be estimated. Only about 25 prisoners were brought away some of whom are wounded. In the evening a note from the Magistrate of Foo-Ping-foo was found. Its temper & tone is angry indicating that he feels that they have been whipped badly

Weather warm and beautiful. Exposure to the sun in the middle of the day is uncomfortable although not unpleasant in the shade. The nights are cool. All hands been busy today cleaning up and putting things to rights on board the ships. The wounded Coreans have all been kindly cared for and as they appeared anxious to get among their own people it was decided to send them on shore if their own people would come and take them away. Mr Cowles went on shore with a letter from the wounded official, ~~and~~ he took on shore with him one of the prisoners who was slightly wounded to tell his story and assure his people of their safety in case they would come in a junk for the wounded. Towards evening a junk came off and took away all the wounded. The old man expressed great gratitude for the kindness shown him and appeared to be happily disappointed at finding such kindness and generosity exhibited towards the people that fell into our hands.

The letter of the Magistrate received yesterday is written evidently in a high state of excitement. He complains bitterly of the rough usage his people received and evidently draws a wide distinction between whipping and being whipped. I have prepared a letter for the King informing him of my readiness to enter upon negociations. I intimate that our wrongs and insults are redressed and a new points of departure has been reached.

In the evening the chief officers of the late Expedition and Mr Drew and Mr Cowles dined with the Admiral

Weather clear in the morning but became cloudy and cool, towards evening.

Last evening a paper stuck on a stake on Guerriere Island informed Mr Drew that the Prefect of Foo-Ping-foo desired an answer to his last communication. I have prepared one in the same tone as the one to the King to send by the first conveyance that comes. I shall send the one for the King to the same Magistrate to forward unless the Kang-Hoa Magistrate should send down a messenger, in which case I shall send it to him

Mr Cowles has been interviewing the Corean prisoners today but their information is evidently very meagre even if they should tell the truth

Evidence obtained from them is limited, and not to be relied upon unless corroborated by other testimony either direct or circumstantial.

From all I can see and learn the Corean peasants and common soldiers are very low in the scale of intellect, and without any education whatever. The Autocratic power of the officials render the status of the people serfs or slaves. ~~with~~ No personality responsibility is assumed and of course there is no freedom of individual action. As soldiers they are mere automatons doing the bidding of their superiors. What we commonly call courage is in them mere stolidity and indifference to death. Human life is considered of little value, and ~~the~~ soldiers, educated as they have been, meet death with the same.. ~~in~~difference as the Indians of North America do

Weather clear and warm in the morning: cloudy and sultry in the afternoon. Towards night squally and rainy. It has the appearance of a S.E. storm coming on.

Got up at 5 1/2 A.M. and the Admiral and I took an early start for a walk on Boisee Island. We landed and climbed to the top of the island from which a good view is obtained in all directions. The Island is covered with a growth of pine trees, not thick but evidently of considerable age. The wall or fortification seen from the ships is a stone wall, laid up in clay and coated originally with lime mortar on the top. It has no appearance of age, and it is not improbable that it was built about the time of the French Expedition in 1866 or after they had left. This is merely a breastwork behind which people can stand with safety and fire gingalls southward.

Upon our return we saw a small junk near Guerriere Island with a large number of people on board. We rowed over towards there when one of the men began to make signs to us holding a letter up in his hand. We concluded not to board her and while returning to the ship met one of the boats with Mr Cowles in her going off. He returned bringing a note from the Prefect of Foo-Ping-foo to me saying that the Magistrate of Kang-Hoa had been degraded for their defeat on the 11th and that my note in regard to the prisoners had not been sent on for that reason. He said we could do as we chose with the prisoners

1871 [30 Days] **16 Friday** [167-198] **June 16**

Weather stormy with strong wind last night. Blew very heavy during the early part of the night, but this morning it is clear. The weather, however, does not look settled. The 'Millet' is looked for with considerable anxiety, for she is fully due, provided Capt Boswell was able to charter her upon his arrival in Shanghai.

Early this morning the junk with the Corean Christians on board returned. They report having been southward about 100 miles; of having all been arrested by some officials ~~and~~ ~~they~~ but by the aids of the money which the Admiral gave them all were released except one. Having been in the contrary direction to the scene of the late battle of course they heard little news. Today I let Mr Drew take them in hand and question them, to test the accuracy of the stories told to Mr Cowles.

From all their evidence I am utterly satisfied that they are christians and semi-outlaws in their own country. Two of the number were with the French Expedition in 1866, and three were with Jenkins in 1868 when he came on the 'Resurrection' expedition. They are ignorant, ~~of~~ and of course very little information can be gained from them that can be counted reliable enough to base any action upon. Out of the mass of evidence obtainable some facts may be gathered which will prove of value

17 June **17 Saturday** [168-197] [6th Month] **1871**

Weather clear warm and pleasant.
While at breakfast Steamer reported in sight bound in. It proved to be the "Millet" which we had expected for some days. She brought coal and provisions, together with officers guns and ammunition from the Ashuelot. By her I recd a letter from Mr Low and one from Mr Seward. The news of our first engagement appeared to excite interest in Shanghai and the whole affair was pretty fully reported in the newspapers

In the forenoon a party of Coreans appeared on the shore of Guerriere Island with a letter. Mr Cowles was sent on shore to ~~get~~ see the people and get what they had. It proved to be a letter from the Prefect of ~~[illegible]~~ of Foo-Ping foo returning my letter directed to the King which I sent two days ago to this Magistrate with the request that he ~~would~~ send it on to the Capital. In his note received this morning he says that he is placed near here charged with civil jurisdiction and to defend his Prefecture from all who may give trouble whether within or without. He says that it does not come within his province to send despatches to the King and he dare not do it. He intimates very distinctly that further Correspondence will be useless. and that they are prepared "to fight it out on this line" It now seems pretty clear that all attempts at negociation will be frustrated, and that it is simply a question of force if they are to be made to treat

Weather hazy, warm and sultry, in the morning, Towards evening a breeze sprung up, which rendered the temperature more comfortable. Attended church on board at 10 A.M. . Yesterday I prepared a letter for Mr Drew to send in his own name to the Prefect, in which complaint is made of his action in declining to send my despatch ~~from~~ to the King. He is asked to reconsider his determination and either send my despatch or inform the King that it is my desire to communicate with him: and then if he declines to receive my communication it will leave the Admiral and myself free to pursue such course as we may deem proper to bring my business to his notice, and also prove to the nations of Europe as well as the United States that the Government of Corea persistently declines to entertain any propositions which a Minister of a friendly Power is sent to make. Although I expect little or no good to result from this yet it is my duty, I conceive, to exhaust all resources in the attempt at peaceful negociation. . .

All ~~the~~ my information and experience goes to prove that the Government had fully decided to reject all our overtures for a treaty without reference to what might be asked. If we had remained quietly here we would have been beguiled by "glittering generalities" in regard to friendship &c &c and which would finally have ended in an absolute refusal to treat. The hostile measures which were inaugurated by them only hastened the end ~~and~~ which would have been the same in any case

19 June **19 Monday** [170-195] [6th Month] **1871**

Weather clear and pleasant. Fresh breeze from the N.W. renders the temperature today much pleasanter than yesterday. Nothing has occurred today of note. No communication either to or from the Coreans. A Court Martial assembled today on board the Flagship for the trial of Sundry offences of the Petty officers and crews of the Squadron

Capt Blake reported to me today that from his ship the Coreans could be distinctly seen engaged in repairing the fort where they met their great defeat. Capt B thinks they have learned a leſson which will be of great advantage to them and damaging to any nation that undertakes to Conquer this Country. Like the Chinese the people of this country only prepared to defend one side. In the construction of their forts the rear is universally left unprotected. ~~By~~ Attacking the forts in the rear ~~by~~ with a land force evidently created surprise and disarranged their plan of defence. If Capt Blake is correct in his observations they are constructing works in the rear of the fort, which if true will render it much more formidable than it was before. I doubt however if one disaster will teach so valuable a leſson unleſs the Coreans are much more prone to adopt and act upon new ideas than the Chinese; for the latter have left the rear of the Taku forts undefended notwithstanding their experience in 1860

Weather cool and pleasant. In the forenoon messenger appeared on Guerriere Island with white flag and letter from the Prefect of Foo-Ping foo in reply to my last one, again requesting him to send on my despatch to the King or inform him that I desired to communicate with the Court. His answer is the same old story over again, that has been repeated until it is entirely familiar to all who ever heard or have read about China and the East. He says again that his duties are so well and particularly defined that he would incur severe censure if not punishment in case he should so far overstep the bounds of propriety as to send a despatch from any person to the Court; and he ventures to suggest that it is quite against the proprieties of the occasion for a Minister to address His Majesty direct.

He then goes on to repeat the story about the loss of the Schooner "General Sherman"; that he supposes ~~that~~ my principal business to be to inquire about this affair and provide against a recurrence of such cases in the future, &c &c He says that there need not be any apprehension about the safety of sailors cast away on these shores because they will be kindly treated and sent home, ~~but~~ it is not necessary, he says, to make treaties about this or any other matter. Corea has adopted Jeff Davis motto during the late war. "I want to be let alone"

21 Wednesday [172-193] [6th Month] 1871

Proclamation

We had a drizzling rain last night but it cleared off warm this morning.

The question I am debating in my own mind now is, whether or not there remains any chance of accomplishing anything by remaining longer here. I am fully convinced that all peaceful overtures will be rejected, and also that no hostile demonstration will bring this country to terms. Its rulers care nothing for the lives of its people and the sacrifice of any number at the outposts will not cause the Court to waver in its determination to hold out against all innovations So long as the Capital remains intact all offensive operations that may be taken against the Country will be of no avail. If this be true the Capital must be taken and the King either captured or driven from it before any favorable result can be expected. It is plainly apparent to me that the force now here is unequal to the task, and in this opinion the Admiral concurs. I am now inclined to think we shall be obliged to withdraw, report the state of affairs to our Government and leave it to the decision of the President whether forces will be furnished to put it through. I have prepared a letter to send on shore whenever I conclude to depart

In the afternoon the Admiral, myself, Mr Drew and Mr Fisher went on shore on Boisee Island and took a walk

Weather clear and warm. No signs of rain. The Admiral is getting the coal out of the Millet preparatory to sending her back to Shanghai. I see no probability of making her useful in the way of offensive operations. It seems useless to undertake farther hostile measures without seeing clearly beforehand that the main object will be accomplished. We now occupy a good position. The Coreans commenced an unprovoked attack upon our vessels. That wrong has been fully redressed with small cost to ourselves. and with great damage to the enemy. It seems useless to hazard another encounter without seeing some permanent good to come from it If we send the vessels to survey the northern passage to the Seoul River they would most likely meet with a hostile reception from the forts in that vicinity; and if they were attacked there we could not leave with safety or credit until after redress had been sought and obtained. If we do not go there the Coreans will naturally believe that this passage will be the one we will seek in any future attempts, and will be likely to bend all their energies to strengthen the defences on Salle river. If the vessels should go north even though they did not approach near enough to bring on an attack, they would be seen which would probably lead to strengthening the defences on the north side of Kang-Hoa Island

Weather clear, warm and pleasant.

The Admiral has determined to send the Millet to Shanghai Tomorrow morning. I have today written to Dr Williams giving a full resume of events that have transpired since last I wrote him on 2d Inst. I have sent this letter open to Mr Seward for him to read and then send on to Peking.

I also sent a Telegram for Secretary of State to Mr Seward as follows: "Recent demonstration produced no effect on negociations
"Nothing can be effected short of Capital
"Force insufficient to go there without great
"risk. If peaceful measures fail shall
"withdraw and wait instructions."

I have now little hope and no expectation of being able to bring the Government to discuss any matter, much more to enter into any kind of a treaty. The officers of the fleet have got a general idea that we will leave about the 1st of July. I see no purpose in waiting longer unless something occurs between now and then to change the aspect of things. Beato the photographic artist goes away on the Millet, also the nine Christian Coreans. Beato came on board yesterday and took my picture alone, and also a group composed of myself, Drew and Cowles. He also took the Admiral alone, and several of the officers, men, flags &c &c. Wrote to Mrs Low and Flora to send by the Millet also a note to Mr Seward

Weather clear and warm. Millet left this morning for Shanghai. Her departure with the arms which she brought from the Ashuelot tends to convince all the officers and men in the fleet in an opinion that further operations are not contemplated.

So far as I know there are no officers of any prominence in the fleet who thinks it prudent to undertake farther offensive operations with the force now here.

The dangers of navigation are so great that ~~the~~ in any attempt to move towards Seoul would involve the disabling if not the total loss of one or more vessels, and as the Palos and Monocacy are the only vessels of light draught of water, they are therefore the only ones that can even go as far as Kanghoa Island by either the northern or southern channel. The disabling or loss of either of these vessels would defeat any offensive movement probably, which might involve the lives of a great many people

In the afternoon the Junk left by the Christian Coreans was towed to and beached on Boisee Island at high water and set on fire. This was done at their special request so that her number could not be ascertained. They feared, if the officials got the number of the Junk, that the ownership might be traced, which would cause the destruction of their families and relatives

It commenced raining last night. This morning it was rainy and with the exception of spells of lighting up has continued to rain during the day. Attended Church on board at 10 A.M. The attendance at church is not large No compulsion or even persuasion is used to induce the men or officers to attend. The Chaplain may be & probably is a good man He has however no force or dignity of character which inspires respect, and therefore his influence amounts to little. Nothing new has occurred today. No signs of promise from the Coreans

1871 [30 Days] **26 Monday** [177-188] **June 26**

Quarter Sessions commence

Weather rainy and blowing hard.
I fear the Millet is having a rough time of it on her passage over.

No change in the status of affairs All the boats of the ship were out this morning exercising by signal. It is quite surprising to witness such precision in evolutions, directed simply by hoisting flags on the ship. The drill of the boats equalled the drill of soldiers in the field. "Jack's" place is on board a vessel or in a boat. On shore, as a soldier he is brave enough,— even reckless, but the difficulty is it is hard to command him and keep a company together.

I have commenced to write my final despatches to the department, and my parting respects to the Coreans.
I have now no idea that there will be any change in the status of affairs and the more I think of it, the less inclination I feel to go farther without instructions from the Government.

If I had the force adequate for the task, so that I would feel reasonably sure of success, I should not hesitate to go to the Capital and try what effect that would have upon negociations. . . .
No movement short of that would produce the least effect

27 June **27 Tuesday** [173-187] [6th Month] **1871**

Weather overcast with drizzling rain. Yesterday the Steam launches were hoisted in which assures everybody that we will leave here before long. I have decided that if by the 1st of July ~~if~~ no favorable symptoms show themselves I shall not advise any further delay. We are so cut off from the world, that if anything should occur which would require my presence or that of the Admiral in China, and our absence should endanger the lives or property of our citizens, we would be culpable in remaining there after all hope of accomplishing anything had vanished. This is an important consideration that cannot be overlooked. And besides if the thing is abandoned and given up as a bad job before the departure of the next American mail, the news will reach Washington in season for arrangements to be made for active operations next Spring if the Government so decides.

It it is now clear that any expedition which shall include a land force, sent against Corea should reach the Coast as early as the 1st of May. This would give two months of pleasant and dry weather The rainy season here evidently corresponds with that of the north of China. It commences the latter part of June and ends with August. During the rainy season the rain and heat would interfere with land operations seriously

Early in the morning foggy and sultry. In the forenoon fog cleared away and the sun came out bright and hot. Thermometer reached a higher point today than any time since our arrival: and still it was under 80° in the shade on board ship. It would I think have marked 90° in the shade on shore. In the afternoon I made official calls on board the different ships. I was accompanied by Mr Drew, Mr Cowles, and Lt Comdr Wheeler of the Admirals Staff. The Alaska & Benicia each fired the regulation salute of 15 guns upon my departure from ~~other~~ the vessel. The Palos and Monocacy not being of a size to constitute them saluting vessels according to Navy Regulations, no salutes were fired from them when they were visited. This visit I have delayed until the present time for public reasons. After our arrival at this Anchorage I did not deem it wise for the vessels to salute as the Coreans would not understand it and might construe this courtesy shown to me into a demonstration of offence against them and thus embarrass friendly negotiations; and I postponed an outward show of anything like a hostile attitude, except to redress unprovoked wrongs, until it became evident that professions of amity and good will utterly failed to produce any effect

Weather rainy and sultry. From the slight indications in sight from the vessels it seems clear that the arable land in Corea produces two crops each year; ~~for~~ on the small pieces of land under cultivation on the islands the grain crop is being harvested. As soon as the grain is cut the land is immediately ploughed and plants set out,— evidently a root crop of some kind. Although the rainy season sets in about the same time it does in the North of China — the latter part of June — and probably continues about the same length of time, it is probable that the situation of Corea, surrounded as it is on three sides by the sea,— there must be much be much more moisture in the air during the dry season than in the North of China In addition the mountainous character of the country and the larger amount of growing timber gives it an advantage over China in the way of moisture. The character of the soil in Corea is different from that of China, but whether poorer or not cannot be determined with our scanty means of information. I am inclined to believe, however, that the country is much better than is generally supposed, and if it had a decent government, which would afford any guarantee that the laborer would receive the fruits of his toil an entire change would be wrought ~~in the~~ and the country become flourishing. No incentive is now offered, for the officials levy contributions and absorb all the surplus wealth

Weather clear and hot The Admiral started this morning on an inspecting tour to the other Ships. He visited the "Monocacy" in the forenoon and the "Alaska" in the afternoon. About 2½ P.M a steamer of some kind was reported in sight, supposed to be a steam-launch. Everybody was anxious to learn what it was and what were its purposes, and the speculations indulged in covered the whole fields of possibilities as well as probabilities. It proved to be the steam-launch belonging to the North German man-of-war Hertha anchored in Rozes Roads. The Lieutenant who came in command of the launch reported that the Hertha left Chefoo on the 27th Inst; that the cause of her coming was a rumor current in Chefoo said to have been brought from Newchwang by a Chinese Junk, to the effect that three of our vessels had been sunk by the Coreans and that the others were hemmed in with little chance of escape. The story was too absurd for belief in its entirety, but the Commander of the Hertha thought that he might possibly be able to afford some assistance by taking away our wounded &c &c and started to find our fleet. He anchored his ship near Eugenie Island and sent ~~the~~ his steam-launch to find Admiral Rodgers ~~and~~ with instructions to offer any service he could render. He reports a large English and French force in Chefoo. By this conveyance I received a letter from Mr Low

This is my birthday. Away from home and my family, there are no pleasant associations connected with this birthday.

Some of Letts's Diaries for 1872 are ready for Export

Weather overcast, drizzly and sultry.
The launch from the Hertha started at 6 am to return to the ship. In addition to the report mentioned yesterday, the Pilot that came over in the Hertha says, that he started in a small lorcha loaded with stores and provisions about the middle of June to come over to the fleet on a trading expedition. He reached the vicinity of Eugenie Island in four days from Chefoo. when somewhere in that vicinity, the exact place he is not quite certain about, several Corean Junks came out and attacked the boat firing several shots at her which went through the boats' sails but fortunately injured no one. They showed such determined hostility that although within sight of the masts of our Fleet the Captain concluded it was dangerous to try and reach our anchorage at Boisee Island, and turned round and went back to Chefoo From the action of the Junks those on board the lorcha concluded that it was not so much the desire of the Coreans to drive the lorcha off as to capture her It is likely that the Coreans used no other weapons than gingalls & matchlocks. So far as I know or can learn they have no war junks armed with artillery although it would be easy to arm junks with the breech-loading brass pieces from such as were found in the forts

1871 3d Day 2 Sunday—4 after Trinity (183-182) July 2

Weather overcast in the morning, drizzling in the afternoon, and hard rain in the evening. Attended church at 10 a.m. Chaplain preached a sermon concerning the Devil which might have passed current fifty or seventy five years ago, but which hardly comes up to the enlightened intelligence of the present day. It seems strange that preachers in this our day will continue in the same old rut, ~~laying~~ setting down as fact what they cannot possibly be presumed to believe, and which no one else does. The Episcopal Church it seems to me is anti progressive; glorying in its antiquity and holding fast to dogmas, forms and customs that are far behind the enlightenment of the age in which we live. I regret to be compelled to say that in all the sermons it has been my fortune to listen to in Episcopal churches there was a bushel of chaff to one grain of wheat. In the afternoon the Captains of all the vessels were assembled on board to receive directions. All the vessels will keep company until we sight Shantung promontory, then if the weather is good the Monocacy and Palos will go direct to Shanghai to repair damages and the others will go to Chefoo. The remains of poor McKee were transferred to the Monocacy in the afternoon for shipment to his mother in Kentucky. Funeral service was read on board the Colorado before the remains were removed. If clear weather we shall start tomorrow morning at 6 oclock

Weather pleasant. Was awakened this morning about 4 ~~am~~ o'clock by the band playing "Shoofly". This is the favorite tune that is played when the crew is heaving up the anchor. From this I knew in advance that the weather admitted of our departure, notwithstanding ~~the~~ its threatening and stormy condition last evening. We started at 6 am:—the Palos and Monocacy leading followed by the Benicia + Alaska with the Colorado bringing up the rear. Nothing occurred worthy of notice until we reached Ferriere Islands. After passing these islands and getting out to sea the squadron formed in line of sailing: the Colorado ahead. the Monocacy and Palos next and the Benicia & Alaska astern. In the afternoon the Palos signalled that she was steering badly on account of the damage to her rudder, received while engaged in the Expedition of 10 & 11th June and requested permission to go on the starboard quarter. She & the Monocacy changed positions & so did the Benicia & Alaska. The Benicia was signalled to to be prepared to take the Palos in tow in case she became unmanageable in steering. Weather warm and a little hazy. - In the Evening the full moon shone ~~bright~~ bright & beautiful. I hope we may reach Chefoo Tomorrow

Weather clear calm and beautiful— The sea as smooth as glass. Scarcely a ripple on the water and no perceptible motion to the ship. About noon sighted land supposed to be Shantung Promontory. This is the anniversary of our National Independence which has been observed with speeches & songs, acclamations of the people and the booming of cannon. The form is still kept up but it may be doubted whether the people as a rule utilize the inestimable blessings conferred upon them by the action of those patriotic and brave men on the 4th of July 1776; nor is the influence of that act duly appreciated by the millions of people in foreign lands whose political condition have been ameliorated by the influence of the example of the popular form of government established in the United States. The quiet and loneliness of the day on shipboard suggested these and kindred reflections. At 12 o'clock M precisely a salute of 21 guns were fired from the Colorado Benicia and Alaska. Soon after the Monocacy and Palos were signalled to come within hail, when after ascertaining that they were all right and prepared for the voyage, were ordered to part company and steer directly for Shanghai. It is now certain that we shall not reach Chefoo until tomorrow morning

Great was my disappointment on awakening this morning to find a dense fog shutting out from view all land., and therefore delaying our arrival at Chefoo. Last night was bright moonlight. but the Admiral concluded it was ~~the~~ part of prudence to delay entering a strange harbor in the night with so large a vessel as the Colorado. We arrived off the entrance of the harbor at 12 o'clock last night and anchored. The Benicia & Alaska anchored near as their steam whistles can be heard at intervals through the fog. Towards eight o'clock the fog began to burn away and the order was given to weigh anchor. We got underway about 9 o'clock and steamed slowly in., passing the British Flag-ship "Ocean" and her despatch steamer, the "Salamis" and came to anchor about 11 a.m. The other vessels of the Squadron followed and anchored near the Colorado. The British Admiral came on board soon after we anchored. to call upon Admiral Rodgers. I excused myself as soon as possible and started ashore arriving at the hotel soon after 12 o'clock I found Mrs Low and Flora both in good health. They were at breakfast when I got to the hotel. Spent the rest of the day at home. This an agreeable change to get on shore again. and be with my family

1871 [31 Days] 6 Thursday [187-178] July 6

Old Midsummer Day

Weather clear bright and warm. There is however in Chefoo a pleasant breeze which relieves the oppressiveness of the heat. The "Manchu" is expected today from Tientsin and although a day or two ahead of the time when steamers can reach Shanghai in season for the outgoing mail I am informed that this is the last chance of sending a mail with a certainty of connecting. I accordingly went down to the Consulate and finished my despatches for the Department. I send by this mail Nos 72, 73, 74 & 75, all in reference to Corea. I found upon arrival here several letters from Dr Williams in which he says that all is quiet in Peking. There is no news of any disturbance either real or apprehended at the present moment. A curious fact connected with the first attack upon our vessels in Corea is, the speed with which the news of a Corean victory was sent on to China. The report reached Peking as early as the 10th or 12th of June, and the courier must have come through from Seoul to Peking in 9 or 10 days — about half the time usually occupied in the transmission of despatches between the two Capitals. As Mr Williams does not mention having received a copy of the despatch from the Govt of Corea to the Board of Rites, I presume the whole thing is either a fabrication or else the Board did not choose to send it

7 Friday [188-177] [7th Month] 1871

Thomas a Becket

Weather clear and rather hot The breeze being from the South does not cool the atmosphere the same as an easterly wind from the sea does. The steamer from Shanghai is expected today with the American mail of June, from San Francisco. Mrs Holwill Flora and myself went on board the Colorado Benicia and Alaska today and made calls Considerable excitement is created today by the news which the Chinese bring from Corea A Junk containing 3 Europeans and 8 Chinese left here about the 15th June to wreck the Schooner "Chusan" which was lost in the early days of June on one of the Sir James Hall Group near the Coast of Corea. The wreck was sold at auction in Chefoo "for acct of whom it may concern". The parties purchasing (2 Englishmen & 1 Prussian) started to see if any property could be recovered The report~~ed~~ is that the foreigners and two or three of the Chinese were seized and the others escaped in their Junk. This comes from the Chinese that returned. The Gun-Boat "Ringdove" started this afternoon to look after and endeavor to recover the men who were forcibly seized by the Coreans The British Consul goes on the "Ringdove" It is not improbable that through this affair the British and German Governments will become involved in complications with Corea

Fire Insurance ceases. Oxford Term ends

Weather clear and hot. The "Shanse" arrived last evening bringing the American mail. Nothing particularly new in my letters or dispatches; Nor is there anything of note in the newspapers except the conclusion and ratification of the treaty with England which is calculated to settle all disputes existing between the two countries. The terrible scenes enacted in France recently and the re-capture of Paris fill European papers. It is sickening to read the accounts of the lawlessness and vandalism of the Socialists in Paris, and strengthens the opinion of the World, that France is not capable of self government

In the afternoon the Admiral Called:- the first time he has been on shore. Flora and I went in his barge with him to call upon Mrs Warden. After leaving there Flora returned in the Barge and I walked back by the beach. stopping on the way at the new Hotel to pay Mrs Wade a visit. I found Mrs Wade very well

The weather today has been very warm

The "Ringdove" sailed last evening. and will most likely be gone a week. I doubt very much whether her visit will benefit the poor fellows who are in the hands of the Coreans. I shall look with interest for her return to see if any new light is shed upon affairs there

Sun very hot this morning. A southerly breeze still continues which does not cool the atmosphere much. At 11 oclock attended church in company with Mrs Low Flora, Mr Wheeler & Mr Holwill. Revd Mr Butcher of Shanghai preached a sermon on civilization:- the best sermon I have listened to in China. Several people from the Hotel went off to the "Ocean" in the afternoon to take lunch. Later in the day the Captain of the "Ocean" called at our rooms. The Steamers Szechuen and Appin arrived from Tientsin. I recd no letters by either vessel. Dr Specht from Peking called. He is on his way to take his place in the "Customs" at Amoy. The "Appin" sailed again for Shanghai in the afternoon. The Szechuen will go tomorrow at 12 oclock

Weather clear with a fresh easterly wind
The ~~weather~~ temperature is much more comfortable today. I find a great difference between a southerly and and an Easterly wind in point of comfort; the former is hot and sultry, and the latter bracing and cool. Nothing of especial note occurred today. The Steamer Shantung came in in the afternoon bringing an "official" from Mr Seward in regard to the payment for telegrams but nothing else The Shanghai papers comment upon the withdrawal of the fleet from Corea. In the opinion of the Shanghai newspapers the fleet should have remained in Corea until the further determination of the Govt of the U S could be made known to me. It is unfortunate that all diplomatic and naval matters in China could not be intrusted to the Editors in Shanghai. Were this the case the newspapers would be better suited whether the interests of foreign governments were or not
Towards evening it was showery with every appearance of a rainy night

LIST OF REFERENCES

1. Nam, Joo-Hong, "America's Commitment to South Korea," *Korea & World*, Volume 10, No. 3, p. 553.

2. "Korea," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th ed., Volume 22, 1986, p. 518.

3. *Korea - U.S.A. Centennial 1882-1982*, p. 169, Yonhap News Agency.

4. Koo, Youngnok, and Suh, Dae-sook, eds., *Korea and the United States: A Century of Cooperation*, University of Hawaii Press, 1984.

5. Nelson, Melvin Frederick, *Korea and the Old Orders in Eastern Asia*, Russell & Russell, 1967.

6. Johnson, Willis Fletcher, *America's Foreign Relations*, The Century Company, 1921.

7. Park, Jae Kyu, and Kim, Jung Gun, eds., *The Politics of North Korea*, p. 243, The Institute for Far Eastern Studies, 1979.

8. Fairbank, John K., Reischauer, Edwin O., and Craig, Albert M., *East Asia: Tradition & Transformation*, p. 398, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978.

9. Davies, John Patton, "America and East Asia," *Foreign Affairs*, p. 370, January 1977.

10. Neu, Charles E., *The Troubled Encounter: The United States and Japan*, p. 8, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1975.

11. Kim, C. I., and Kim, Han-kyo, *Korea and the Politics of Imperialism 1876-1910*, University of California Press, 1967.

12. Han, Woo-keun, *The History of Korea*, East-West Center Press, 1971.

13. Henthorn, William E., *A History of Korea*, The Free Press, 1971.

14. Paik, L. George, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea, 1832-1910*, 3d ed., Yonsei University Press, 1980.

15. U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1867*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1867.

16. U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1866*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1867.

17. Bemis, Samuel Flagg, and others, *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, volume 7, Pageant Book Company, 1958.

18. Drake, Frederick C., *The Empire of the Seas: A Biography of Rear Admiral Robert Wilson Shufeldt, U.S.N.*, University of Hawaii Press, 1984.

19. Cable, E. M., *United States Korean Relations, 1866-1871*, K.R.A.S. Publications, 1939.

20. Weems, Clarence Norwood, ed., *Hulbert's History of Korea*, volume II, Hillary House Publishers, Ltd., 1962.

21. Buss, Claude A., *The United States and Korea at the Beginning*, paper presented at the Smithsonian Institution, June 1982.

22. U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1872*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1872.

23. Nahm, Andrew C., ed., *The United States and Korea: American-Korean Relations, 1866-1976*, The Center for Korean Studies, 1979.

24. U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1868*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1869.

25. U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1870*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1870.

26. Temple, Henry W., "William H. Seward," *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, ed. Samuel Flagg Bemis, Pageant Book Company, 1958.

27. Fuller, Joseph V., "Hamilton Fish," *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*, ed. Samuel Flagg Bemis, Pageant Book Company, 1958.

28. Hane, Mikiso, *Modern Japan: A Historical Survey*, Westview Press, 1972.

29. Melendy, H. Brett, *The Governors of California*, Talisman Press, 1965.

30. U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1871*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1871.

31. Castell, Albert, and Nahm, Andrew C., "Our Little War with the Heathen," *American Heritage*, volume XIX, April 1968.

32. Schley, Winfield Scott, *Forty-Five Years Under the Flag*, D. Appleton and Company, 1904.

33. Potter, Elmer Belmont, ed., *The United States and World Sea Power*, Prentice Hall, Inc., 1955.

34. Low, Frederick Ferdinand, *Diary, May 8 - July 10, 1871.*

35. *Marine Amphibious Landing in Korea*, series 2, number 3, Naval Historical Foundation, January 1966.

36. Underwood, *Korean Boats and Ships*, Yonsei University Press, p. 66, 1979.

37. Durant, Will, and Durant, Ariel, *The Lessons of History*, p. 12, Simon and Schuster, 1968.

38. U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1874*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1874.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bauer, K. Jack, "The Korean Expedition of 1871," *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, volume 74, number 2, February 1948.

Dennett, Tyler, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, Barnes and Noble, 1963.

Johnson, Robert E., *Rear Admiral John Rodgers, 1812-1882*, Naval Institute Press, 1967.

Jo, Yung-hwan, ed., *Korea's Response to the West*, Korea Research and Publications, Inc., 1971.

"Korea," *Collier's Encyclopedia*, 1980.

Macdonald, Donald S., "American Imperialism," *Korea and World Affairs*, Volume 10, No. 3 (Fall 1986).

Major C. F. Runyan, USMC, "Captain McLane Tilton and the Korean Incident of 1871," parts I & II, *Marine Corps Gazette*, volume 42, number 3, March 1958.

Malone, Dumas, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

Mayo, Marlene J., "The Korean Crisis of 1873 and Early Meiji Foreign Policy," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, volume 31, number 4 (August 1972).

Palais, James B., "Records and Record-keeping in Nineteenth Century Korea," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, volume 30, number 3 (May 1971).

Paullin, C. O., *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1788-1883*, (publisher unknown) 1912.

Rear Admiral John Rodgers, "Asiatic Station," volumes I & II, The National Archives, U.S. Navy and Marine Corps Records (Record Group 127, entry 80, 1869-1874).

Spiller, Roger J., Dawson, Joseph G., and Williams, T. Harry, eds., *Dictionary of American Military Biography*, volume III (Q-Z), Greenwood Press, 1984.

Strand, Wilson E., "The Opening of the Hermit Kingdom, 1866-1882," *The East*, volume XXIII, number 5, December 1987.

U.S. Department of the Navy. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Navy on the Operations of the Department for the Year 1871*, Government Printing Office, 1871.

West, Richard Sedgewick, Jr., *Admirals of American Empire*, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948.

INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST

		No. Copies
1.	Defense Technical Information Center Cameron Station Alexandria, Virginia 22304-6145	2
2.	Library, Code 0142 Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943-5002	2
3.	Department Chairman, Code 56 Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943-5100	1
4.	Capt Douglas E. George HQ USFK/J-2 IP APO San Francisco 96204	3
5.	Dr. Claude A. Buss, Code 56BX Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943	3
6.	Dr. Edward A. Olsen, Code 56OS Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943	1
7.	Dr. Frank M. Teti, Code 56Tt Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943	1
8.	Asian Seminar, Code 56 Department of National Security Affairs Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93943	1
9.	Academic Library Defense Language Institute Presidio of Monterey, California 93944-5006	1
10.	Library Naval War College Newport, Rhode Island 02840	1

11. Library 1
United States Air Force Academy
Colorado Springs, Colorado 80840

12. Dr. Bruce G. Cumings 1
Department of International Studies
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195

13. Dr. James B. Palais 1
Department of History/International Studies
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98195

14. Dr. Robert A. Scalapino 1
Director, Institute of East Asian Studies
University of California, Berkeley
2120 Oxford Street
Berkeley, California 94720

15. Dr. Byung C. Koh 1
Department of Political Science
University of Illinois
Box 4348
Chicago, Illinois 60680

16. Dr. C. I. Eugene Kim 1
Department of Political Science
Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49007

17. Dr. Suh Dae-suk 1
Department of Political Science
University of Hawaii
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822

18. Dr. Lee Chong-Sik 1
Department of Political Science
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

19. Dr. Donald S. Macdonald 1
Department of Political Science
Lafayette College
Easton, Pennsylvania 18042

20. Gregory Henderson 1
12 Rock Hill Street
West Medford, Massachusetts 02156

21. Dr. Ilpyong J. Kim 1
Department of Political Science
University of Connecticut
Storrs, Connecticut 06268

22. Ambassador Pak Tong Jin 1
Korean Embassy
2320 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20008

23. Dr. Edward Wagner 1
Department of History
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138

24. Dr. Gary Ledyard 1
Department of History
Columbia University
New York, New York 10027

25. Dr. Han Sung Joo 1
Chairman, Department of Political Science
Asiatic Research Center
Korea University
Seoul 132, Korea

26. Dr. Lee Hung Koo 1
Director, National Unification Board
Seoul, Korea
Seoul, Korea

27. Dr. Koon Woo Nam 1
Korean Department
Defense Language Institute
Monterey, California 93940

28. John Yung Rhee 1
4093 Sunridge Road
Pebble Beach, California 93953

29. Major Robert Vento 1
AFIT/CISP
Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio 45433-6583

30. AFIT/NR 1
Wright-Patterson AFB, Ohio 45433-6583

31. Colonel Anthony J. Pazik 1
4354 Redwood Road
Ft. George G. Meade, Maryland 20755

32. Steve Bradner 1
Special Advisor to the Commander-In-Chief
United Nations Command/U.S. Forces Korea
APO San Francisco 96301

33. Bruce Grant 1
Deputy Special Advisor to the Commander-In Chief
United Nations Command/U.S. Forces Korea
APO San Francisco 96301

34. Ambassador James Lilly 1
United States Embassy
Seoul, Korea

35. Ambassador John L. Walker 1
Department of Political Science
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina 29208

36. Ambassador Paul Cleveland 1
United States Embassy
Wellington, New Zealand

37. Ambassador Morton Abramowitz 1
Director, Bureau of Intelligence and Research
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

38. Dr. Ronald Morse 1
Director of Development
Library of Congress
Washington, D.C. 20540

39. Dr. Kyong Soo Lho 1
350 Sharon Park Drive
Apt J-4
Menlo Park, California 94025

40. William Maurer 1
Director, United States Information Service
United States Embassy
Seoul, Korea

41. Director 1
The Academy of Korean Studies
50 Unjung-dong Songnam-si
Kyonggi-do 130-17
Korea

42. Dr. Nat White 1
1550 Mt. Eagle Place
Alexandria, Virginia 23302

43. Dr. Rin-sup Shin 1
American University/FAS
5010 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

44. Dr. Wayne Patterson 1
Department of History
St. Norbert College
Depere, Wisconsin 54115

45. Ambassador William H. Gleysteen 1
Washington Center of Asian Studies
1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

46. Dr. Roy U. T. Kim 1
Department of Political Science
Drexel University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

47. John Merrill 1
INR/EAP
Room 8840
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

48. Edward W. Kloth, Jr. 1
Office for Korean Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

49. Dr. Kwak Tae Hwan 1
Department of Poltical Science
Eastern Kentucky University
Richmond, Kentucky 40475

50. Dr. and Mrs. John Y. Sohn 1
1043 Via Verde
Del Rey Oaks, California 93940

51. Dr. Ahn Byung-joon 1
Department of International Relations
Yonsei University
Seoul, Korea

52. Dr. Rhee Sang Woo 1
Department of Political Science
Sogang University
Seoul 121, Korea

53. Dr. Jae Kyu Park 1
Director, Institute for Far Eastern Studies
Kyungnam University
Seoul 110, Korea

54. Dr. Soon Sung Cho 1
Department of Political Science
University of Missouri
Columbia, Missouri 65201

55. Dr. Young Whan Kihl 1
Department of Political Science
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa 50010

56. The Institute of Korean Studies 1
C.P.O. Box 3410
Seoul 100, Korea

57. Guy M. Hicks 1
Senior Legislative Analyst for Defense and Foreign Affairs
Republican Research Committee
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

58. Reverend Pharis Harvey 1
Director
North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea
110 Maryland Avenue, N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20036

59. Choi Sung Il 1
1662 Valencia Way
Reston, Virginia 22090

60. The Asia Society 1
725 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021

61. Office of the Secretary of Defense 1
Attn: Director, East Asia and Pacific Region
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301-1155

62. Office of the Joint Chiefs of Staff 1
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20301-1155

63. Office of the Secretary of the Air Force 1
Attn: Chief, Office of Air Force History
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20330

64. Office of the Secretary of the Navy 1
Attn: Naval Historian
The Pentagon
Washington, D.C. 20350

65. Commandant of the Marine Corps 1
Attn: Director of Marine Corps History and Museums
Department of the Navy
Washington, D.C. 20380-0001

66. Office of the Secretary of the Army 1
Attn: Army Historical Program
U.S. Army Center of Military History, HQDA
Pulaski Building
Washington, D.C. 20314-0200

67. Library 1
United States Military Academy
West Point, New York 10996

68. Library 1
United States Naval Academy
Annapolis, Maryland 21402

69. Major John Harkey 1
USDLO, Box 80
FPO San Francisco 96659-0002

70. Research Center for Peace and Reunification of Korea 1
C.P.O. Box 6545
Seoul 100, Korea

71. Major John K. Umberger 1
USDAO Dhaka
c/o U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

72. William C. Black 1
11650 Mayfield Avenue
Apt 3
Los Angeles, California 90049

73. Karle Defrenderick Pitts 1
PSC Box 453
APO New York 09283-5361

74. Ernest Woods 1
16302 S.W. 103 Place
Miami, Florida 33157

75. Homer George 1
3766 Township Road 115
Mt. Gilead, Ohio 43338

76. Melanie A. George 1
1875 Brimfield Road
Columbus, Ohio 43229

77. David L. George 1
3045 Bethel Road
Columbus, Ohio 43017

78. Capt Noyes Weltmer III 1
5750 Flag Flower Place
Columbia, Maryland 21045

79. Capt Craig Steinberg 1
PCS #1 Box 5943
APO New York 09633-5379

80. Capt Kevin Novak 1
106 Brownell Circle
Monterey, California 93940

81. Joseph W. Wesner 1
P.O. Box 54
St. Croix Falls, Wisconsin 54024

82. Reverend Abraham W. Lee 1
1075 Mescal Street
Seaside, California 93955

83. Colonel John Endicott 1
National War College
Fort McNair
Washington, D.C. 20319-6000

84. Captain Douglas H. Nelson 1
419-84-5563
Department of Physics
United States Military Academy
West Point, New York 10996

Thesis
G26285
c.1

George
The Low-Rodgers Expedition: a study in the foundations of U.S. policy in Korea.

Thesis
G26285 George
c.1 The Low-Rodgers Expedition: a study in the foundations of U.S. policy in Korea.

AMERICAN BINDERY
TOPEKA KANSAS

thesG26285
The Low-Rodgers Expedition:
3 2768 000 79140 4
DUDLEY KNOX LIBRARY